



THE  
**HINDU-MUSLIM  
RIOTS**  
**THEIR CAUSES AND CURES**

BY

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## P R E F A C E

The 'Hindu Muslim Riots—Their Causes and Cures' is a scientific study of a problem which has of late acquired so much importance that it has become the concern of every Indian, to whatever class or community he might belong. These 'Riots' are cutting at the roots of all our future hopes and aspirations as a nation and are a source of the greatest humiliation to all my countrymen. It is necessary for all of us, therefore, to try to contribute whatever we can towards the solution of this problem and the removal of this evil from our midst as soon as possible. I have had an occasion to study this problem at close quarters in my capacity as the President of Sri Ram Naumi Procession Committee, Meerut, for full four years from 1936 to 1939, when I had to deal with many situations which with a slight bad handling would surely have resulted in a 'Riot'. Besides this, I am a student of the Social Sciences where we have to study all kinds of social problems in a scientific way without taking any sides, however deeply we might be attached to any one of them. I have, therefore, tried to make an exhaustive

study of this problem in as scientific a manner as was possible for me to do and am giving expression to my views through this work. I hope it would prove of some use to my countrymen and they would try to put as many of my suggestions into actual practice as they can see their way to do.

*Ratish Mohan Agarwala.*

*Vijai Dashmi:*

*The 8th. of October, 1943.*

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## *Containing*

A wholly new and most revolutionary scheme for extending the 'Frontiers' of 'Hinduism' so as to admit all the Indian Muslims, Christians, Parsees and Jews to its fold without requiring them to give up their existing 'Religions' and thus evolving a compact, united, well-knit and an Ideal 'Hindu Indian Nation' in India

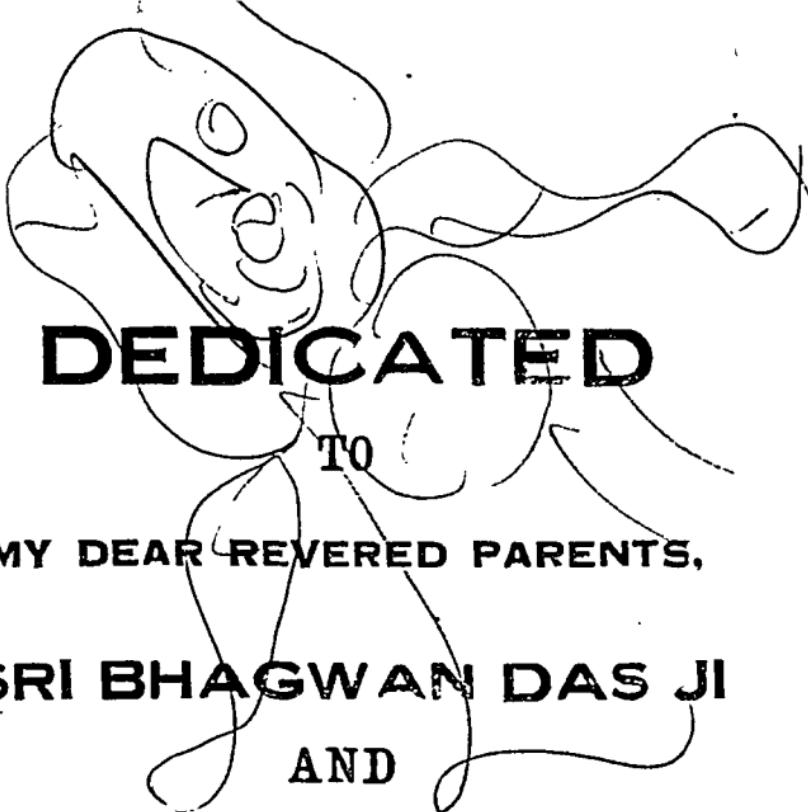
## *And Providing*

Wholly new and most scientific solutions to the following communal problems:—

- (1) The Problems of Communal Organizations, Education, Preachers, Press and Literature;
- (2) Joint *vs.* Separate Electorates;
- (3) 'Hindu' *vs.* 'Muslim' Rule;
- (4) The Birth-Rate Competition;
- (5) 'Shudhi' *vs.* 'Tabligh';
- (6) Kidnapping;
- (7) Communal Murders;
- (8) 'Pakistan';
- (9) The 'Hindi Urdu' Controversy;
- (10) The 'Bande-Matram' and 'Vidya-Mandir' Controversies;
- (11) The Abuse or Praise of Prophets and Heroes;
- (12) Religious

Criticisms, Discussions and 'Shastrartha'; (13) The Existence of Humiliating Monuments and Relics; (14) The 'Shahidganj Temple' and the 'Delhi Shiv Mandir' Disputes; (15) Music before Mosques and Temples; (16) Cow-Slaughter; (17) Idol-worshipping vs. Idol-breaking; (18) 'Shabe-barat' Fire Works; (19) 'Holi' Water; (20) The Height of 'Tazias'; (21) The Cutting off of Sacred Trees; (22) The Polluting of Sacred Waters; (23) Smoking before the 'Sikhs'; (24) Throwing Cow's or Pig's Flesh in Temples and Mosques; and (25) The Use of Insulting Epithets.

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**DEDICATED**

TO

MY DEAR REVERED PARENTS,

**SRI BHAGWAN DAS JI**

AND

**'MATAJI'**

AS

AN HUMBLE

**"Shradhanjali"**

TO

**Their Sacred Memory.**



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# **The Hindu Muslim Riots**

## **THEIR CAUSES AND CURES.**

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# The Hindu Muslim Riots

## THEIR CAUSES AND CURES.

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### Chapter I. Introductory.

In this work, we propose to make a systematic study of the Causes and the Cures of 'Hindu Muslim Riots', one of the chief causes of our humiliation, degradation and political enslavement as a nation.

The full extent of the injury, both moral and material, which these 'Riots' are doing to our people cannot be properly assessed or adequately described. When these 'Riots' are set afoot, as Dr. W. B. Canon puts it in another connection, "elemental anger, hate and fear" prevail on all sides; all "civilised conventions are abandoned"; "homes are looted and burned"; "wives and children are abominably treated" and "many innocents are murdered outright and starved to death". [*'Bodily Changes in Pain, Hunger, Fear and Rage' (1915), p. 289.*] Those who let loose these 'Riots' in our midst are thus not only the greatest enemies of the whole country but also of their own countrymen.

for whose members they thus open out all the avenues of sufferings and calamities noted above.

Those who encourage these 'Riots', however, very often protect themselves by asserting that 'Riots' between two communities are just like 'Wars' between two nations and that consequently there is nothing specially derogatory about them. Before we can make any progress with our subject, therefore, we must first clear off this delusion and make these people understand that though both 'Wars' and 'Riots' are harmful, the latter are even a greater evil than the former. In order to make this clear, we would make here a detailed analysis of the exact nature of 'Wars' and 'Riots' in general, showing what actually happens therein.

Let us first see what happens in the case of 'Wars'. Whenever a cause of dispute arises between two or more nations, an attempt is generally made by their respective governments to settle that dispute in some amicable way through ambassadors, messengers, conferences or arbitrators and even sometimes through 'International Courts of Justice' specially constituted

for that purpose and it is only when an agreement is found impossible that they resort to warfare. It is not any and every individual belonging to those nations, moreover, that can declare 'War' on their behalf but only their properly constituted governments. As these governments *generally* represent the 'General Will' of the people over whom they are placed, they may, in most cases, be presumed to have the sanction of their citizens behind them while they declare 'War' on other nations. If the latter do not give their sanction, the former have either to immediately stop the 'War' or are overthrown and replaced by new ones by constitutional or non-constitutional methods. All nations, moreover, have at least some means of defence with them which protect them to some extent even if other nations declare 'War' on them unawares. It is only the 'Military Objectives', besides, that are *generally* attacked and the civil population is consequently *very often* left quite unmolested. And finally there are always *some* rules of 'International Law' and 'Morality' that put a limit upon the barbarities and atrocities which the belligerents can perpetrate on one another. *In spite of all these things, 'Wars' are an evil and*

*one of the greatest calamities that can befall humanity.*

Let us now see what happens in the case of 'Riots'. Any two or more *real or fictitious* members of two communities fight with one another for any cause or reason whatsoever and a 'Riot' *might* start! No attempt is *generally* made to find out what was the exact cause of the quarrel and whether it was worth fighting for or not. Those individuals, moreover, who set these 'Riots' afoot can by no stretch of imagination be in a large majority of cases presumed to have any authority to do so on behalf of their communities and still the latter very often begin to fight with one another like so many collections of 'Robots'! Interested third parties thus very often get a chance to start 'Riots' between two communities by disguising themselves as their members and then fighting on their behalf, as it were, or otherwise creating a situation in which people belonging to these communities get excited and begin to fight with one another. *No ambassadors exist in their case, no messengers are sent, no conferences are generally held and no arbitrators are approached before two or more real or fictitious members of the two communities start*

*'Riots' on their behalf!* These communities, moreover, do not generally have any 'armies' of their own for defending them when they are attacked, except a few 'volunteer corps' which also somehow very often disappear somewhere during these 'Riots', leaving the individual members of their communities to their fates ! Wholly unarmed and unprepared people, both young and old, including women and children, are consequently cruelly and mercilessly slaughtered and stabbed behind their backs or are otherwise mishandled and maltreated during these 'Riots'. And finally, there seem to be no rules of morality, chivalry or even decency which put a limit upon the barbarities and atrocities which these 'Rioters' perpetrate on one another in a large majority of cases.

It would thus be evident from the above that though 'Wars' between nations represent quite a disordered and disorganised state of human society, 'Riots' between communities represent the worst form of savagery and butchery which human beings can indulge in or perpetrate on one another and the sooner this thing is recognised, the better it would be for the growth of healthy public opinion and right notions on the subject !

## Chapter II. The Causes of Hindu Muslim Riots.

Granting then that 'Riots' are an evil and a greater evil than 'Wars', the question now arises as to what are the 'Causes' of 'Hindu-Muslim Riots' with which we are specially concerned in the present study. It is only when we have clearly understood these 'Causes' that we can suggest the proper 'Cures' for these 'Riots' in the light thereof. We shall, therefore, now proceed to study these 'Causes' in some detail.

We may begin by pointing out that there are four different sets of factors that must simultaneously exist and come into operation before the 'Hindu-Muslim Riots' can actually take place, namely, first, the 'Issues'; secondly, 'the Fighting Urges'; thirdly, the 'Incitements'; and fourthly, the 'Lack of Controlling Forces'. We would deal with each one of these factors and describe their exact nature and mutual relationships under separate headings below.

### A. THE 'ISSUES'.

The first set of factors that must exist before the 'Hindu-Muslim Riots' can take place are

the 'Issues' or, in other words, the things that provide an '*occasion*' for these 'Riots' to occur. These 'Issues' may be either 'Communal' or 'Personal.' 'Communal Issues' are those in which some 'Communal' questions are involved and 'Personal Issues' are those in which only particular individuals belonging to the two communities are interested. We would deal with both these kinds of 'Issues' separately.

#### 1. 'THE COMMUNAL ISSUES'.

Taking the 'Communal Issues' first, we may note that there are four different sets of causes that give rise to these 'Issues', namely, first, the 'Spirit of Communalism'; secondly, 'Religious Bigotry'; thirdly, 'Difficulties arising out of Historical Relationships'; and fourthly, 'Difficulties arising out of Contradictory Real, Supposed or Perverted Religious or Communal Requirements, Practices, Interests or Sentiments'. These 'Causes' and the 'Communal Issues' to which they give rise may be briefly described as follows:—

##### A. The 'Spirit of Communalism' and the 'Communal Issues' to which it gives rise.

The first 'Cause' that gives rise to the 'Communal Issues' is the 'Spirit of Communalism'.

This 'Spirit' is the outcome of at least eight different factors, namely, first, the actual organization of the two communities into separate and more or less rival, hostile or antagonistic groups; secondly, the existence of the 'Communal Riots', themselves where even the 'Non-Communalists' are freely attacked and are consequently forced to become 'Communalists'; thirdly, 'Communal Education'; fourthly, 'Communal Institutions'; fifthly, 'Communal Preachers'; sixthly, the 'Communal Press'; seventhly, 'Communal Literature'; and finally, 'Separate Electorates'.

Now this 'Spirit of Communalism' leads those who are infected with it to act against the rights, interests or sentiments of the other community in the following five ways, in each of which it gives rise to a 'Communal Issue' between the two communities:—

First, the 'Spirit of Communalism' creates a desire in those who are infected with it to see one's own community alone rule or survive in the country. This makes the 'Communalists' adopt an extremely aggressive, dominant, and uncom- promising attitude towards the other community and to suppress it in every way. It also leads

them at the same time to try to increase the number of their own community as much as possible either by increasing its birth-rate or through dishonest conversions thereto from any other community whatsoever and to decrease the number and the riches of the other community by kidnapping, murdering or robbing its members. Whenever the 'Communalists', therefore, try to do or succeed in doing any of these things, the other community or its 'Conscious Minority' naturally resents and tries to resist it and a 'Communal Issue' consequently arises between the two communities.

Secondly, the 'Spirit of Communalism' leads those who are infected with it to seek the 'Partition' of the country so that they may become the unrestricted rulers of at least some part of it, irrespective of how it would affect the whole country. Whenever, therefore, the members of one community adopt this attitude; those of the other naturally resent it and a 'Communal Issue' consequently arises between the two communities.

Thirdly, the 'Spirit of Communalism' leads the 'Communalists' to demand, secure or establish by force, rights and privileges for their own

community at the cost of the other, thereby creating a 'Communal Issue' between the two communities.

Fourthly, the 'Spirit of Communalism' leads the 'Communalists' to try to impose their own language, culture and civilization upon the other community against its wishes which naturally creates a 'Communal Issue' between the two communities.

And finally, the 'Spirit of Communalism' leads the 'Communalists' to do some material wrong, insult, injustice or injury to the other community or to its property, interests or rights. The aggrieved community naturally resents this and a 'Communal Issue' consequently arises between the two communities.

#### **B. 'Religious Bigotry' and the 'Communal Issues' to which it gives Rise.**

The second cause that gives rise to the 'Communal Issues' is 'Religious Bigotry'. This 'Bigotry' creates three different types of 'Communal Issues' which may be described as follows :—

First, 'Religious Bigotry' leads the bigots to abuse or dishonour the other community's Gods,

Prophets, 'Avatars' and religious personages, scriptures or sacred things or to injure its religious sentiments in any other way. This the other community naturally resents and a 'Communal Issue' consequently arises between the two communities.

Secondly, Religious Bigotry leads the bigots to *praise* or *honour* those of their own gods or religious personages, leaders or fanatics who had fought against, 'humiliated, defeated, annihilated or bravely challenged or resisted the aggression of the other community's gods or religious personages or martyred or sacrificed themselves for the sake of their own community or religion *in respect to those very incidents* of their career *in such a way as to taunt or injure the feelings of the other community*. Whenever the bigots behave in that way the other community naturally resents it and a 'Communal Issues' consequently arises between the two communities.

And finally, 'Religious Bigotry' leads the bigots to criticise or talk about the religious and the social beliefs, ideals and customs of the other community in a most offensive way and to resent even a fair criticism of their own religious

and social beliefs, ideals and customs and misbehave towards or roughly handle those who make it. This is naturally resented by the other community and a 'Communal Issue' consequently arises between the two communities.

C. The 'Difficulties arising out of Historical Relationships' and the 'Communal Issues' to which they Give Rise.

The third set of causes that give rise to the 'Communal Issues' are the 'difficulties arising out of Historical Relationships.' These 'Relationships' create 'Communal Issues' in the following four ways:—

First, 'Historical Relationships' between the two communities might have been such that they or their leaders had fought against one another in the past or one of them or its leaders had enslaved, persecuted, humiliated, defeated, annihilated or bravely challenged or resisted the aggression of the other community or its leaders or made great sacrifices or martyred itself or themselves for the protection of its or their country's religion or honour. Any *abuse or dishonour* or any *praise or honour* in that case of these communities or their leaders, *in respect to those incidents*,

by any of their members, *in such a way as to taunt or injure the feelings of the other community*, is naturally resented by the latter and a 'Communal Issue' consequently arises between the two communities.

Secondly, 'Historical Relationships' between the two communities might have been such that one of them had put the other to great humiliation or done to it great injury or injustice in any way. Anything, therefore, that reminds the members of the latter community of that humiliation, injury or injustice,—such as temples converted into mosques, mosques built out of broken temples, mutilated idols and other similar relies and monuments,—naturally excites its passions and creates a desire in it to take a revenge on the former community for the faults of its predecessors or to at least destroy those 'reminders' by force and a 'Communal Issue' consequently arises between the two communities.

And finally, 'Historical Relationships' between the two communities might have been such that some things, properties or places belonging to one community might have been wrongfully

taken possession of by the other or one community might have acquired certain illegitimate rights or privileges as against or over the other which the latter is no longer prepared to recognise or allow, thereby creating a 'Communal Issue' between the two communities.

**D. The 'Difficulties arising out of Contradictory Real, Supposed or Perverted Religious or Communal Requirements, Practices, Interests or Sentiments and the 'Communal Issues' to which they Give Rise.**

The last set of causes that give rise to the 'Communal Issues' are the difficulties arising out of contradictory real, supposed or perverted religious or communal requirements, practices, interests or sentiments. There are seven different types of 'Communal Issues' that arise in this way which may be described as follow:—

First, a 'Communal Issue' arises when any kind of music or loud sound which forms an *essential* part of the religious, social or civic ceremonies, functions or rights of one community but which prevents the other community from properly or efficiently carrying out its own religious, social or civic ceremonies or duties in any way, is played or made by the former commu-

nity and is objected to or is sought to be forcibly prevented by the latter community before a temple, mosque or any other place.

Secondly, a 'Communal Issue' arises when some animal, such as the 'Cow', whose protection is enjoined as an *essential* 'Dharmic' duty or obligation on one community, is or is going to be slaughtered by the other community under some real or supposed religious injunction to do so or for personal consumption or pleasure.

Thirdly, a 'Communal Issue' arises when one community worships 'Idols' and thinks it its religious duty to protect them and their temples in every way while the members of the other community, under a right or wrong impression that it is their religious duty to do so, try to or actually break or defile them in any way.

Fourthly, a 'Communal Issue' arises when the members of one community think it their religious duty to play with dangerous fireworks on some occasion, such as on 'Shabe-barat' day, or with coloured water, such as on 'Holi', and the lives, limbs, houses, property or the clothes of the members of the other community are endangered or spoilt in any way.

Fifthly, a 'Communal Issue' arises when some things that are regarded as sacred by one community,—such as 'Brahm,' or 'Peepal' trees, Ganges and Jamuna water and those rivers, tanks and wells whose water is used for drinking purposes are cut off or polluted by the members of the other community in any way.

Sixthly, a 'Communal Issue' arises when those things that are regarded as 'impure' or 'objectionable' by the members of one community,—such as 'Cigarettes,' 'Biris' and other tobacco articles or their smoke by the 'Sikhs'; the flesh of 'Pigs' or 'Swine' by the 'Muslims' and any kind of flesh, blood, fish, eggs or onions by the 'Vaishnav' Hindus,—are brought into contact with them by the members of the other community in some way.

And finally, a 'Communal Issue' arises when some terms,—such as 'Kafir', 'Baqqaal', 'Maleksh' or 'Patit,'—are used by the members of one community for those of the other because the former think that their 'Religion' permits them to do so, but the use thereof is regarded as 'insulting' to them by the latter.

2. THE 'PERSONAL ISSUES',  
Passing on next to the 'Personal Issues', we

may note that any dispute that may arise between different individuals belonging to the two communities or any tort or criminal offence committed by one or more members of one community against any of the other, may become the cause of a 'Personal Issue'. Though these 'Issues' are purely 'Personal' and no 'Communal' Problems are involved in them, they also sometimes become an "*occasion*" for the outbreak of "Hindu-Muslim Riots", if they are accompanied by the other three sets of causes that we would take note of below.

### B. THE 'FIGHTING URGES.'

The second set of factors that must exist before the 'Hindu-Muslim Riots' can take place are the 'Fighting Urges', or in other words, those forces which *either of their own accord or after having been excited by some 'External Stimuli'* make people fight and create 'Riots' whenever any 'Communal' or "Personal" Issue arises between the two communities or some of their members, instead of trying to settle the cause of dispute between them in some amicable way. These "Urges" may be described as follows:—

The first and most important 'Fighting Urge' is that of the 'Consciousness of Superior Communal Force' which makes those who possess it fight with the other community as soon as any 'Communal' or "Personal" Issue arises between the two communities or their members as they hope to be able to attain better results by so doing than by trying to settle that "Issue" in some peaceful way.

The second "Fighting Urge" is that of "Excessive Hatred or Hostility towards the other Community or Excessive Love for one's own Community" which make those who possess either of them fight with the other community as soon as any "Communal" or "Personal" Issue arises, simply because they want to give expression to these feelings of theirs in some way.

The third "Fighting Urge" is that of "Passion" which makes those who are extremely "passionate" fight with the members of the other community simply out of "passion" as soon as any "Issue" of any kind whatsoever arises between the two communities or their members.

The fourth "Fighting Urge" is that of "Pugnacity" which makes those who possess it

fight with the other community *simply because they are so constituted that they must fight and quarrel with somebody or the other.*

Fifthly, there is the "Fighting Urge" of "Aggressiveness" which makes those that possess it insist upon forcing their will upon others, whether their viewpoint is right or wrong, under threat of open aggression.

Sixthly, there is the "Fighting Urge" of "Hot-headedness" which makes those who possess it behave towards the other community or its members with so much ill-temper and violence as to make a peaceful settlement of the particular "Issue" in question altogether impossible.

The seventh "Fighting Urge" is provided by the feeling of "Jealousy" which makes those who possess it feel like fighting with the members of the other community out of "jealousy" for their greater wealth or incomes or because they possess greater earning capacity or are more intelligent, able or smart.

The eighth "Fighting Urge" is provided by the spirit of "Revengefulness" which makes those who had ever suffered at the hands of the

other community or its members in any way feel like fighting with it or them simply in order to be able to take their "revenge" thereupon in some way.

The ninth " Fighting Urge " is provided by the spirit of " Predatoriness " which makes those who possess it create " Riots " whenever they can, in order to find an opportunity to " loot " the members of the other community and sometimes even of their own.

The tenth and last " Fighting Urge " that requires to be taken note of is provided by the spirit of " Lawlessness " which makes those who possess it begin to indiscriminately assault the members of the other community simply out of this spirit as soon as any " Communal " or " Personal " Issue arises between the two communities or their members.

### C. THE " INCITEMENTS ".

The third set of factors that must exist before the " Hindu Muslim Riots " can take place are the " Incitements " or, in other words, those " Internal " or " External " Stimuli which *put* the " Fighting Urges " *into operation* or *excite* them and thus

actually set the "Riots" afoot. The "Internal" Stimuli which act as "Incitements" are provided by the "Fighting Urges" themselves if their "*minimum potency*" is such that they can *automatically* lead those individuals that possess them to go about violently attacking the members of the other community as soon as any "Communal" or "Personal" Issue arises between the two communities or their members. The "External" Stimuli, on the other hand, that act as "Incitements" consist of those factors which "*heighten*" the "*potency*" of the "Fighting Urges" of different individuals to such an extent as to place them on *that* "*minimum*" *level of their intensity where those individuals would automatically break out into open violence*. These "External" Stimuli may all be broadly classified into six different categories which may be described as follows:—

The first "External" Stimulus which acts as an "Incitement" is provided by the "first blow" given by any individual really or apparently belonging to one's own or to the opposite community which "excites" one's "Fighting Urges" to their "*minimum potency*" point and thus actually sets them into motion.

The second kind of "External" Stimulus which acts as an "Incitement" is provided by the speech, advice, temptation or bribe made, given or offered by some member, leader or organization of one or both the communities with a view to "incite" their members to break out into open violence in order to subserve some of their own 'communal' or 'personal' ends in some way.

The third kind of 'External' Stimulus which acts as an 'Incitement' takes the form of some interested third party inciting one or both the communities or their members to violence by speech, advice or some kind of temptation or bribe.

The fourth kind of 'External' Incitement is the outcome of some kind of 'Mischief' on the part of some member of either community or some interested third party or a mere mischief-monger belonging to any community or party whatsoever.

The fifth kind of 'External' Incitement is the outcome of 'False and Alarming Rumours' spread by some member or organization of either community or some interested third party in order to profit thereby in some way.

The last kind of 'External' Incitement is provided by anything done by a member of either community, some interested or disinterested third party, or some animal or by any incident of any kind whatsoever which creates a 'Panic' in the minds or 'excites' the 'Passions' of some individuals or a mob belonging to either or both the communities.

#### **D. THE "LACK OF CONTROLLING FORCES."**

The last factor that must exist before the 'Hindu-Muslim Riots' can take place is the 'Lack of Controlling Forces' or, in other words, the lack of those factors *which, if present, would have controlled or whose duty or function it was to control these 'Riots'*. These factors are of three different kinds which may be described as follows:—

In the first place, there is the force of 'Personal Self-Control' which, if present, would have enabled those individuals who get excited and start or take part in a Riot, to remain cool and dispassionate and decide any 'Communal' or 'Personal' Issue that might have arisen, in some peaceful way, instead of getting out of control and rushing at one another's throats.

In the second place, there is the force of 'Control' by the 'Leaders' and the various 'Organizations' of the two communities which, if present and exercised in the right way, would have, very often helped to nip the whole trouble in the bud.

And finally, there is the force of 'Control' by the 'Government' which, if available at the proper time and to a sufficient degree and at the same time exercised in the right way, can *almost always* prevent all Riots from taking place, whatever their exact cause or origin may be.

This finishes our study of all the different factors that must exist before the 'Hindu-Muslim Riots' can take place. Though for the sake of a clear grasp of the subject, we have put them into a number of broad categories, they all have to work together in a certain way before these 'Riots' can take place at all. Some of the 'Causes' of the 'Communal' or the 'Personal' Issues must first *begin to function or be artificially manufactured or created*. These 'Issues' would then come into existence or prominence. All those other factors that create 'Riots' on these 'Issues' must then come into operation and if the forces which

they generate are potent enough, a ' Riot ' would automatically take place. Given these ' *Minimum Potent* ' forces capable of creating ' Riots ' between particular types and number of human beings belonging to both communities, the number of ' Riots ' which they cause and the frequency with which they do so would then be seen to vary in direct order to the number or the intensity of the potent forces concerned and the frequency with which they occur or recur in different cases.

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## Chapter III. The Cures of Hindu Muslim Riots.

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Let us now see what are the 'Cures' of 'Hindu Muslim Riots'.

Looking back to the 'Causes' of 'Hindu Muslim Riots' we find that the most important source of these Riots is what may be referred to as the 'Communal Problem of the Hindus and the Muslims' which is responsible not only for all the 'Communal Issues' that arise between the two communities but also provides a most aggressive and uncontrollable type of 'Fighting Urge' to their members. Until this problem, therefore, is properly understood, grasped and solved in all its aspects, the 'Hindu Muslim Riots' can never really come to an end. We would consequently first proceed to study this problem in some detail. After we have done this, we would then proceed to consider how the 'Cures' of all kinds of

‘Personal Issues’ that arise between the members of the two communities can be controlled so that the number of these ‘Issues’ and the frequency with which they arise may be reduced as much as possible. We would then shew how, if inspite of all efforts to prevent or control the ‘Causes’ of all kinds of ‘Communal’ or ‘Personal’ Issues, these ‘Issues’ still sometimes arise, they should be settled before they lead to any further trouble. We would then study in separate chapters how the ‘Fighting Urges’ can be controlled, how the ‘Incitements’ can be prevented, avoided or rendered useless and how the ‘Lack of Controlling Forces’ can be provided against. If all the ‘Cures’ that we would suggest for controlling all these different factors that are responsible for the Hindu Muslim Riots are actually put into operation, it may be hoped that no such ‘Riots’ would ever take place at all.

But if through negligence, carelessness or indifference, even a few of these factors are left unattended to, it is very probable that a Riot would follow. We must, therefore, also throw some light on the various problems that would then arise. The first thing that we have to consi-

lder in that case is as to how the Riot can actually be brought to an end as soon after it has started as possible. After this, we would make some suggestions with a view to reduce the amount of harm caused by these Riots to the lowest possible degree. And finally, we would suggest ways and means of so controlling the after-effects of these Riots as to prevent their leading to new Riots in their own turn.

All these things we would do in the rest of this work in separate chapters. We would then bring this study to a close in a final concluding chapter.

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## Chapter IV. The Communal Problem of the Hindus and the Muslims.

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We would now proceed, as already proposed, to study the 'Communal Problem of the Hindus and the Muslims' in some detail.

The first thing that we have to do in that connection is to find out how the 'Hindus', the 'Muslims' and the other communities of India came to be what they are; what is the exact constitution and the 'binding force' of those communities; whether they are 'Nations' or 'Religious Groups' or both; what have been their respective achievements or points of distinction, glory, pride or humiliation; what were their mutual relations in the past; what are their present attitudes towards one another; and what are their future hopes, aspirations, ideals and ambitions with regard to their own selves as well as with regard to the whole country. It is only when we have formed a very clear idea of all these things that we would really be in a

position to suggest the most appropriate remedies for the solution of the whole 'Communal Problem' of the 'Hindus' and the 'Muslims' as well as of all the other communities in the country in addition thereto.

We would consequently divide our study of this problem into two parts. In the first part, we would describe the whole "Communal History of India" from the earliest times to the present day in order to clearly bring out all the points that we have referred to above, mentioning *all* those things and *only* those things that are *in any way* or *at all* relevant to our subject. In the second part, we would suggest the most appropriate remedies for the "Solution of the Whole Communal Problem of India". We would deal with both these parts of this problem separately in the next two chapters.

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# Chapter V. The Communal History of India.

We would now proceed to study the "Communal History of India" from the earliest times to the present day in order to clearly bring out all the points that we have briefly referred to in the previous chapter. For the sake of convenience, we would divide the whole of this history into four distinct periods, namely, first, the "First Hindu Period"; secondly, the "Muslim Period"; thirdly, the "Second Hindu Period"; and finally, the "British Period". We would deal with each one of these "Periods" under separate headings below.

## A. THE "FIRST HINDU PERIOD."

The "First Hindu Period" extends from times immemorial to the stage when the Muslims established themselves at Delhi near about the close of the twelfth century A. D.

The dawn of history in India, it may be observed, witnesses the existence in the country of two distinct races, namely, the "Aryans," with their "revealed" "Religion" of the "Vedas", residing chiefly in the Punjab and

Kashmir—we are not concerned here with the controversy whether they came there from outside, as the Europeans assert, or whether they had always been residing there, as the late Sri Swami Dayanand ji Maharaj of "Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal" had conclusively proved (Cf. his great work in Hindi, "Sri Dharma Kalpadrum", Eight Volumes) and as we ourselves also believe,—and the "Non-Aryans", such as the "Kols", the "Bhils" and the "Dravidians", with their own tribal faiths, cultures and civilizations, inhabiting the rest of the country. From their original home, the "Aryans" gradually spread themselves throughout the whole of Northern India and some of them even went out to the South. With them, they carried their "Religion", "Culture" and "Civilization", which had now developed into a huge system known as "Sanatan Dharma", wherever they went and due to their great prosletising zeal and art, they finally succeeded in voluntarily converting the whole of India thereto. As this "Sanatan Dharma" has ever since then been and is even today the faith of the greater part of the people of India, we would do well to give

a brief description of its general constitution here.

The term "Sanatan Dharma", it may be observed, literally means the "Ancient Religion and Binding Force of Society." It was called "Ancient" because it began with the "Vedas" which were believed to have been revealed at the beginning of all Creation. Even if that claim were questioned, nobody knows how old this "Dharma" really is. It was, moreover, a "Dharma" or, in other words, a "Religion" and the "Binding Force of Society" combined into one and not a mere "Religion" as all other later religious systems of the world have been. How it actually came to be what it is would become evident as we proceed.

Taking first the "Religion" of "Sanatan Dharma", we may note that while God or "Brahm"—not "Brahma"—according to it is "Nirakar" or "Formless" in essence and there is no other "Reality" beside Him, in His capacity as "Ishwar" or "Bhagwan" or the "Lord of this Universe" or "Brahmand", He assumes three different "Forms" according to the three main functions which He has to perform

in relation to it, namely, that of "Brahmā" in His capacity as the "Creator"; that of "Vishnū"—along with His consort, "Lakshmi",—in His capacity as the "Preserver"; and that of "Shiva"—along with His consort, "Parvati", "Durga" or "Kali",—in His capacity as the "Destroyer". And since it is the function of "Vishnu", the "Preserver", not only to "Preserve" this "Universe" but also to shew how human beings should live in order to make this world harmonious, happy, noble, beautiful and progressive, He took a number of "Avatars" or "Incarnations", the minor ones of which aimed merely at the "Preservation" of the "Universe" while the two major ones, namely, those of Bhagwān Sri Ram Chandraji Maharaj and Lord Shri Krishna aimed both at the "Preservation" of this "Universe" as well as at "Teaching by Precept and Example."

Now the "Vedas", having been revealed at the beginning of "Creation", had naturally dealt with "Brahm" in His "Nirakar" or "Formless" aspect as it had till then been and only barely mentioned the new role He was going to assume in His capacity as "Ishwar".

or "Bhagwan". They could not, moreover, deal with the "Avatars" which evidently took place at a much later date. The "Nirakar", or "Formless" "Brahm", with the "Vedantic" theory that He is the *only* "Reality", was thus the chief object of interest to the "Vedas" and the main form in which they could interpret His Existence.

The "Vedas" had, however, dealt with God only in *His Essence*. He still required to be dealt with in His capacity as "Ishwar" or "Bhagwan". The various "Puranas" were, therefore, revealed to the Aryan Sages, all of which along with the "Epics" of the "Ramayana" and the "Mahabharata"—also containing that "Celestial Song", the "Gita",—dealt with "Ishwar" or "Bhagwan" in His three "Forms" of "Brahma", "Vishnu" and "Shiva", together with their consorts and their various "Avatars" in all their various aspects and in their full details. God was thus revealed and presented to the world through these "Puranas" and "Epics" in many different forms and everybody was left free to "see" Him through any of these "Forms" he liked according to his own special aptitude and worship Him in that "Form" as his

"Ishta-Deva" (or object of special adoration). And since all these "Forms" were only the various manifestations of the same "Eternal Reality", it did not matter in which of these "Forms" He was really worshipped, for all these "worships" were really the "worship" of that "Eternal Reality" alone!

But even when all this had been done, there was still a feeling in the minds of the "Aryan" sages that inspite of all the "Vedas", "Puranas" and "Epics" that they already possessed, there may still be some other explanation of the nature and purpose of this Universe which may not be found therein but which may still be the whole and the only truth. In order, therefore, to exhaust all possibilities of explanations, they set about taking three possible "Realities", namely, God ("Brahm") Soul ("Jivatma") and Matter ("Prakriti") and then made as many different "Combinations" and "Permulations" thereof as could be done. In this way, one of the Aryan sages put forth an alternative according to which all the three possible "Realities," i.e. God, Soul and Matter, were treated as actual "Realities." Three more Aryan sages further put forth three alternatives according

to which *only two* of these *possible* "Realities," namely, God and Soul, God and Matter, and Soul and Matter, were regarded as *actual* "Realities". And two Aryan sages put forth *two* more alternatives according to which *only one* of these *possible* "Realities" i. e. *either* God or Matter, could be the *actual* "Reality",—nobody ever believed that the "Soul" could be *the only* "Reality" and so that alternative was left out as obviously wrong and futile. There thus appeared on the whole *six* possible alternatives *any one of which could be the actual "Reality" and some one of which must also be the actual "Reality"*. On the basis of each one of these alternatives, the Aryan sages then constructed a detailed and comprehensive system of Philosophy or "Darshan Shastra" which subsequently came to be collectively known as the "Six Systems of Hindu Philosophy". And the leaders of "Sanatan Dharma", in order to let the doors of truth be opened out in every way and not to shut out anything that might in actual practice be the real truth, adopted these "Darshan Shastras" as a part of their creed and allowed all those who were at all disposed to do so to deduce all their ideals and code of life from them rather than from the "Vedas", "Puranas"

or any other religious code or scripture whatsoever.

This was then the whole "Religion", both "revealed" and "evolved", of "Sanatan Dharma". While the whole of it was to be *preserved* by *all* the "Sanatanists" as a *common heritage*, every individual was free to make use of *any part of it* he liked for his own self according to the stage of his Soul's Evolution or his own cultural development, it being further assumed that all individuals would pass through at least the more important phases of this whole structure at different periods according to their education and emotional or intellectual growth or development. *Perfect Religious "Liberty" and Tolerance* thus became the cardinal principles of "Sanatan Dharma" and no one, according to it, was to be maligned or persecuted for whatever religious views he held, so much so that "Kapil", the great agnostic philosopher, found an honourable place amongst the "Aryan Sages" and "Charvak," one of the greatest atheists that India has produced, was left quite free to propagate his ideas amongst the people and was respected like all other "Pundits," regardless of his particular religious views.

There were thus going to be as many different "religious sects" within the ranks of the "Sanatanists" as the number of alternatives out of the above that were likely to appeal to different classes or groups thereof. This was, however, necessary both from the point of view of the discovery of the real truth as well as in order to give the individuals perfect liberty to follow any religious creed they liked. But since that was bound to lead to a disruption of Society, the leaders of "Sanatan Dharma" then laid down certain "Precepts" which were to be regarded as a part of that "Dharma" because they acted as the "Binding Force of Society." *It was because Society could also be bound together in this way that "Sanatan Dharma" could give so much religious liberty to its members.* If these "Precepts" were not observed, *the only other way in which Society could remain bound together was by enforcing the same "religious creed" on all its members.* The observance of these "Precepts" was thus necessary in order to retain perfect religious liberty and because the latter was desired by all as well as deemed necessary to be given to the individuals by the "Aryan" sages, they

insisted on the retention of these "Precepts" as an essential part of that "Dharma". These "Precepts" were nowhere expressly stated but all "Sanatanists" were implicitly expected to conform their behaviour in the light thereof. If any individual "Sanatanist" acted in opposition to those "Precepts," he was first looked upon with disapproval, then with disfavour, then with positive suspicion according as the number of "Precepts" in opposition to which he was acting increased and when he flouted all these "Precepts", he was discarded from "Sanatanist" Society even though he still continued to believe in any of the "Sanatanist" "religious creeds". This was only proper, for if all or most of these "Precepts" were flouted, Society would either have had to impose a single religious creed on all or fall asunder. These "Precepts" may formally be stated as follows :—

1. All "Sanatanists" were to call and refer to themselves as "Sanatanists".
2. All "Sanatanists" were to have "Sanskrit-derived" names or those that could pass as such.
3. All "Sanatanists" were to ally themselves with the "Sanatanist" group for life and

death as against any and all other *external* groups in the whole world in the sense that if ever the former were to come into conflict with the latter, they would stand shoulder to shoulder with the first and never prove a traitor to it by joining the second for any reasons whatsoever.

4. All "Sanatanists" were to have the "Shikha" as an external emblem to shew that they were "Sanatanists" and in order to distinguish them from the "Non-Sanatanists".

5. All "Sanatanists" were to live, dress and behave *as far as possible* in the "Sanatanist" style, fashion or manner.

6. The "Terminology" of the "Theology" of all the various religious creeds or sects of "Sanatan Dharma" was to be of "Sanskrit" origin, *irrespective of the language or dialect in which the religious books or the literature of those creeds or sects might be written.*

7. All "Sanatanists" were to regard the whole Theology, Philosophy, Scriptures and Literature of "Sanatan Dharma" as *their own common heritage* even though they themselves were concerned with or interested in only a part of it.

8. All "Sanatanists" were to be tolerant of the religious and the social beliefs, ideals and customs of all the various sects of "Sanatan Dharma" as well as of all other peoples in the world, *provided they also did the same*, and were to give to all others the same liberty of thought, speech and action as they claimed for themselves, *though they could always try to convert others to their own views or creeds by means of private or public "Shastrarthas" or discussions.*

9. All "Sanatanists" were to mould their lives *as far as possible* in accordance with the ideals of "Varanashram Dharma".

10. All "Sanatanists" were to abstain from "Cow-killing" and "Beef-eating", *whether they did or did not respect or worship the "Cow" in addition thereto.*

11. All "Sanatanists" were to observe certain minimum standards of cleanliness of body, diet, dress and housing *if they wanted to be treated as "Touchables" in "Sanatanist" Society*. If they failed to observe these standards of cleanliness, they were to be treated as "Untouchables", though still regarded as a part of that Society, and they were to

willingly allow their being so treated in the interests of the maintenance of those standards of cleanliness therein—"Touchability," according to "Sanatan-Dharma," being thus not an "absolute right" of anybody but a "privilege" which was to be extended to only those who had proved themselves to be worthy of it.

12. All "Sanatanists" were to regard the Ancient History of India as their own history and to adore the best heroes of that history even though they themselves were descended from people who had fought against or had been defeated by those heroes—"Group-heroes" thus getting a preference over even one's own particular ancestors.

13. All "Sanatanists" were to wish, aspire and work for the glory, greatness and welfare of the whole "Sanatanist" group more than for any other external group in the whole world.

14. All "Sanatanists" were to celebrate or take part as far as possible in all the more important "Sanatanist" festivals, such as "Ram-Naumi", "Raksha-Bandhan", "Krishna-Janma-Ashtmi," "Dasehra", "Durga-Puja," "Diwali," "Basant-Utsav," "Holi", "Kumbh,"

“Ardh-Kumbhs” and others. As some of these festivals were connected with some “Gods” or “Avatars”, those who did not believe in these Gods or “Avatars” were to regard them as “Maha-Purush” or “Heroes” and then take part in the festivals held in their honour without in any way trying to injure the feelings of those who preferred to treat them in the former way.

15. And finally, all “Sanatanists” were as far as possible to burn their dead.

This was then the whole constitution of “Sanatan Dharma” in all its aspects. As we have already pointed out, the whole of India had gradually come to accept this “Dharma” quite a long time ago. Things thus went on for ages till we come to the Sixth Century B. C. when something of importance happened which next requires to be taken note of.

Two Kshattriya princes, namely, Lord Mahavir and Lord Buddha, who appeared at this time, went out to create two wholly new religions of their own, called “Jainism” and “Buddhism”, as distinct from and in direct opposition to “Sanatan Dharma”. Really speaking, since “Sanatan Dharma” had

already exhausted all possibilities of religious attitudes through its Scriptures and "Darshan Shastras", there could really be nothing wholly new from its point of view. Both these religions, for instance, were based on the "Sankhya" Darshan Shastra. It was only from the point of view of their details, therefore, that they could really be regarded as new creeds. Their adherents, however, insisted on regarding them as new religions and formed independent organizations of their own which had nothing to do with the "Sanatanist" organizations. "Jainism" was, however, from the very beginning an extremely peaceful religion. The same was the case with "Buddhism" at first but since it made an extremely rapid progress, the "Buddhist" monks soon became very arrogant while the "Brahmins", the leaders of "Sanatan Dharma", became more and more hostile thereto. This naturally brought the two into actual conflict with one another and the heroic way in which the "Brahmins" then bore the persecution of "Buddhist" monks and their followers and remained true to "Sanatan Dharma" is one of those incidents of history which entitle those who suffer for any cause to the everlasting love,

respect and admiration of those at least to whom that cause is dear in any way. The star of "Sanatan Dharma" had, however, fallen on evil days and it consequently went on losing ground everywhere with amazing rapidity and the star of "Buddhism" went on rising till at last it reached its highest point!

Meanwhile a new factor of some importance was being gradually introduced into Indian politics. After the Greek invasion of India, news of its great riches and fertility reached far and wide. Hordes after hordes of foreign tribes, therefore, poured down into the country from the North-West and settled down therein. The chief of these tribes were the "Sakas" who came to India in the Second Century B. C.; the "Kushans"—a clan of the "Yuehchies",— who came in the First Century A. D.; and the "Gujars" or the "Gurjaras" who came in the Sixth Century A. D. [ Cf. V. A. Smith's "Oxford Student's History of India", (1933 Edition), P. 28-9 and P. 90-1. ] Most of these foreign settlers were strongly attracted towards "Sanatan Dharma" and they were consequently freely admitted into it. Not only this, as the Brahmins were then

ready to find for everybody a suitable place in the Caste System [Cf. V. A. Smith's "Oxford Student's History of India", P. 91.] by forming new castes and sub-castes which were only allowed to marry within their own fold in order to preserve Race Purity and to prevent the birth of "Varna-Shankaras" or mixed breeds, these foreign settlers were even given their proper places in the Caste System according to their callings and status in life. This fact is important from at least three different points of view. In the first place, it conclusively refutes the theory put forth by the opponents as well as by some innocent supporters of "Sanatan Dharma" that it never sanctioned the conversion to its fold of those who or whose ancestors had never been "Sanatanists" before. In the second place, it was responsible for introducing into "Sanatan Dharma" most of its present "Castes" and "Sub-castes" outside the four recognised "Varnas". And thirdly, besides the Ancient "Aryans" and the "Kols", the "Bhils" and the "Dravidians" that had hitherto formed the main body of the "Sanatanists", many new races were now included therein, thus making it difficult for all of them to be

referred to by any of their older names, such as the "Aryans", the "Aryo-Dravidians" and others.

Let us now turn our attention to distant Arabia where an event of supreme importance from the point of view of our study was taking place at about the same time. That event was the rise of "Islam" or "Muhammadanism" therein near about the beginning of the Seventh Century A.D. The founder of that religion, the Great and the Holy Prophet, Hazrat Muhammad Sahib (Peace be on him), studied the conditions of his country and found that its people were still so little advanced in the scale of civilization that it was no use putting before them the most perfect Philosophies or the highest forms of Idealisms. Christianity had tried to do both these things to some extent and had consequently failed to make any effect on the primitive Arabs, inspite of its being in existence in a neighbouring land for full six hundred years. The finer songs of "Sanatan Dharma" which were still vibrating on the banks of the "Jamuna", the "Madhu-bans" and the "Kunj-galies"; the emotional thrillers of the same

which were lying scattered in the form of "Harishchandra-Ghat", "Chitrakoot", "Panchavati" and a thousand other similar spots in various parts of India; the enchanting Philosophies thereof which were serving as the solace of their lives to an innumerable "Schaupenhaours" throughout the whole length and breadth of the "Himalayas"; and the adorable "Sitas", "Lakhmans", "Bharats" and a thousand other heroes of the same, the very mention of whose names used to bring tears of love to the eyes of the Indian people, —all these things would have equally fallen flat on the Arabs of those days! Even the echoes of the much simpler "Buddhism" which had been heard in and responded to from far-off China, Mongolia, Annam, Siam and Burma had failed to touch the Arab heart! What was Hazrat Muhammad Sahib then to do? Not that he did not know all these things. Being the Prophet of God, he must have known what beauties of life the Creator had already scattered in India; what divine songs He and His Flute had already sung on the banks of the "Jamuna"; what solace He had already provided for thirsting humanity in

the "Upanishads" and the "Gita"! But he had come to solve a problem in human evolution; he had come to do what no other prophet, man or religion had yet been able to do for the poor Arabs; he had come to put into practice the eternal truth of "Sanatan Dharma" that people of different stages of evolution cannot have the same religion! He was not creating a new religion *for himself* but *for the Arabs*—his critics should never forget this! It was a problem in Psychological Readjustments which he had to solve. It was the same problem which made John Stuart Mill say *not all that he himself believed but only as much as the people could bear!* It was the same problem which makes us play chess or run in a race *not always at our best or full speed but only at that level of it which may just enable us to win!* And the wonderful way in which he solved that problem; the reserves of boundless physical bravery, emotional enthusiasm, religious fervour and intellectual keenness which he at the same time opened out in the Arabs and the high pedestal of culture and civilization on which he at once placed them during the course of a few decades entitles

him to the love, respect and admiration not only of the 'Muslims' but of all right-thinking men and women throughout the world, to whatever race, religion or community they might belong !

But the Arabs were Arabs after all ! The Holy Prophet had gone but the Arabs still remained ! Knowing nothing of "Sanatan Dharma" and its eternal principle that people of different stages of evolution must have different faiths and forgetting their own Holy Prophet's sacred injunction that "there is no compulsion in religion", they now set out to convert the whole world to "Islam" with swords and axes in their hands,—swords and axes which the Holy Prophet had used in self-defence, not for aggression against anybody—and to dig out the very foundations of all other civilizations right upto Spain in the west and India in the east ! Their newly-awakened spirits, their wonderful team unity and their remarkable religious enthusiasm made the heads of proud Athens, Rome and Madrid fall at their feet in no time, as it were ! Baghdad and Symerna were theirs in a day ! Persia was laid low and some of the

"Parsees" fled to India ! Kabul, Ghazni, and Kandhar fell without much resistance ! And last but not least, Makran (Baluchistan) and that part of Sind which was to the west of the "Hakra" or the "Lost River," was also occupied by them as early as 712 A. D. under the leadership of Mohammad, son of Kasim ! Beyond that they could not proceed for full five hundred years, except by fits and starts and for short periods only—so strong was India as compared to the rest of the world even when a kind of civil war was going on in the country between the followers of "Santan Dharma", on the one hand, and the "Buddhists," on the other !

But though the Arabs could not enter India proper yet, they and their new religionists of Persia and Afghanistan were now sitting on the whole of its North-West Frontier seeking for an opportunity to pounce upon it, to enslave it and to destroy its whole religious and cultural heritage as they had done in other lands ! It became necessary for the people of India, therefore, to set their house in order and prepare themselves to meet this new menace from the North-West as best

they could. Before that could be done, however, it was necessary that the whole of India should at once return to its own Eternal Faith, "Sanatan Dharma", for it was only on the basis of that "Dharma" that an Ideal National Organization could be formed at that time or at any time whatsoever, while giving perfect religious liberty to all individuals! Since it was the will of God that it should so happen and as this was a work which no mortal could do, He sent a "Saviour" of India in the person of Jagad-guru Shri Shankaracharya who brought about that transformation in the twinkling of an eye, as it were, and thus prepared the ground for the wider unification of India on an Ideal basis in accordance with the principles of "Sanatan Dharma". How Jagad-guru Shri Shankaracharya brought about that transformation may briefly be described as follows :

Jagad-guru Shri Shankaracharya took birth in Malabar in the Ninth Century A. D. He finished all his education at an extremely early age and left his home with the permission and the blessings of his mother with the express purpose of converting the whole of

*rences of race, religion or community, namely, the "Hindus" or the inhabitants of "Hind", the country east of the "Sindhu" or the "Indus". It was such a handy term and was so useful in every way that the leaders of "Sanatan Dharma" adopted it as the *new name of all the people of India of that time, whether individually or collectively considered.* That being done, the principles of "Sanatan Dharma" were then so gradually and imperceptibly applied to all the "Hindus" that within the course of the next two centuries *an Ideal Indian National Church under the name of "Hinduism" came into existence*, which bound together all the people of India into a common National unit on the only safe, sound and permanent basis on which it was at all*

the various 'unwritten' principles of 'Sanatan Dharma' which acted as its 'Binding Force' in their *new form applicable to 'Hinduism'*. Since a clear grasp of these 'unwritten' principles in their new form is necessary for a proper understanding of the whole constitution of 'Hinduism', we would restate them in that form below :—

1. All 'Hindus' were to *call and refer to themselves* as 'Hindus'.

2. All 'Hindus' were to have 'Sanskrit—derived' names or those that could pass as such.

3. All "Hindus" were to *ally* themselves with the "Hindu" group for life and death as against any and all other *external* groups in the whole world in the sense that if ever the former were to come into conflict with the latter, they would stand shoulder to shoulder with the first and never prove a traitor to it by joining the second for any reason whatsoever.

4. All "Hindus" were to have the "Shikha" as an external emblem to shew that they were "Hindus" and in order to distinguish them from the "Non-Hindus".

5. All "Hindus" were to live, dress and behave *as far as possible* in the "Hindu" style, fashion or manner.

6. The "Terminology" of the "Theology" of all the various religious creeds or sects of "Hinduism" was to be of "Sanskrit" origin, irrespective of the language or dialect in which the religious books or the literature of those creeds or sects might be written.

7. All "Hindus" were to regard the whole Theology, Philosophy, Scriptures and Literature of "Hinduism" as *their own common heritage*, even though they themselves were concerned with or interested in only a part of it.

8. All "Hindus" were to be tolerant of the religious and the social beliefs, ideals and customs of the various sects of "Hinduism" as well as of all other peoples in the world, *provided they also did the same*, and were to give to all others the same liberty of thought, speech and action as they claimed for themselves, though they could always try to convert others to their own views or creeds by means of private or public "Shastrarthas" or discussions.

9. All "Hindus" were to mould their lives *as far as possible* in accordance with the ideals of "Varanashram Dharma."

10. All "Hindus" were to abstain from "Cow-killing" and "Beef-eating", whether they

did or did not respect or worship the "Cow" in addition thereto.

11. All "Hindus" were to observe certain minimum standards of cleanliness of body, diet, dress and housing *if they wanted to be treated as "Touchables" in "Hindu" Society.* If they failed to observe these standards of cleanliness, they were to be treated as "Untouchables", though still regarded as a part of that Society, and they were to willingly allow their being so treated in the interests of the maintenance of those standards of cleanliness therein—"Touchability" according to "Hinduism" being thus not an "absolute right" of anybody but a "privilege" which was to be extended to only those who had proved themselves to be worthy of it.

12. All "Hindus" were to regard the Ancient History of India as their own history and to adore the best heroes of that history even though they themselves were descended from people who had fought against or had been defeated by those heroes—"Group-heroes" thus getting a preference over even one's own particular ancestors.

13. All "Hindus" were to wish, aspire and

work for the glory, greatness and welfare of the whole "Hindu" group more than for any other external group in the whole world.

14. All "Hindus" were to celebrate or take part as far as possible in all the more important 'Hindu' festivals, such as "Ram-Naumi", "Raksha-Bandhan", "Krishna-Janma-Ashtmi," "Dasehra", "Durga-Puja," "Diwali" "Basant-Utsav", "Holi" "Kumbh," "Ardh-Kumbhs" and others. As some of these festivals were connected with some "Gods" or "Avatars," those who did not believe in these "Gods" or "Avatars" were to regard them as "Maha-Purush" or "Heroes" and then take part in the festivals held in their honour without in any way trying to injure the feelings of those who preferred to treat them in the former way.

15. And finally, all "Hindus" were as far possible to burn their dead.

These were then all the various "unwritten" principles of "Hinduism" the observance of which was made incumbent upon every "Hindu". As "Hinduism" did not insist upon any particular "religious" views but only on the observance of these principles, it was not a

“Religion” in the sense of a particular set of “Theological” doctrines,—though almost all kinds of “Theologies” were represented amongst its various creeds,—but a “Dharma” or a “Binding Force of Society,” which bound together all its adherents into a single well-knit unit. Since it was only an extension of “Sanatan Dharma” to a wider plane, all the “Sanatanists” automatically became “Hindus” in the fullest and the most complete sense of the term. The “Jains” also freely accepted the “Hindu” National Ideal and henceforth began to call and regard themselves as “Hindus”. The few “Buddhists,” that still preferred to remain so, also gradually merged themselves into the general body of the “Hindus”. *The whole of India thus gradually came to accept the “Hindu” National Ideal and all its peoples were merged together into a single “Hindu Nation”.* And this Ideal has since then continued to be accepted by the founders of all new “religions” that have arisen in India during the last eight centuries, namely, “Sikhism”, the “Arya-Samaj,” the “Brahmo-Samaj,” the “Prarthna-Samaj,” the “Dev-Samaj”, the “Radhaswami-Satsang”, the “Theosophists” and others. All these new “reli-

gions" or "religious sects" have consequently come to be treated as a part of "Hinduism" and their adherents have been regarded as "Hindus" and given all the privileges of "Hindu Society" without any reservations whatsoever.

It was thus that the great "Hindu Nation" of India came into being. Unfortunately, however, the whole of India still continued to remain split up into a large number of small Kingdoms whose rulers very often fought amongst themselves for their own personal whims and interests and could not consequently combine against any common foe. This was a most hopeless state of affairs on the political sphere which no amount of religious or social readjustments could remedy or set right. It was obvious under the circumstances that these rulers would some day hand over the country to the invaders due to their mutual jealousies and quarrels and then the "Hindu Nation" as such would have to fight for its own existence under new leaders that would then arise to save its "Religions," "Culture" and "Civilisation" against the onslaughts of the invaders!

And that was exactly what happened in actual

practice. When Amir Sabuktigin and Mahmud of Ghazni invaded India near the end of the Tenth Century A. D., there was no All-India power to oppose their advance, though 'Jaipal,' with the help of some other Hindu princes, had for some time been able to put up a strong resistance. The same was the case two centuries later when Muhammad of Ghor began to make repeated attempts to conquer India. There were small kingdoms everywhere in the country whose rulers were eager to see each other humiliated rather than combine together against the common foe. Maharaja Prithviraj was, however, alone more than a match for Ghor and actually defeated him many times and let him off on tendering apologies. But when that traitor, Jai Chand, the King of Kanauj, went over to help the invaders, the tables were at last turned and the great Prithviraj was, after a very tough fight, finally defeated and killed and Muhammad of Ghor at one stroke became the ruler of the greater part of Northern India !

Thus at the close of the Twelfth century A.D., the 'First Hindu Period' came to an end and the 'Muslim Period' began.

## B. THE MUSLIM PERIOD.

Let us now see what happened during this second period in the history of India.

As we have already pointed out, it were only the Hindu rulers of the greater part of Northern India that had yet been defeated by the Muslim invaders. The descendants of most of these rulers migrated to Rajputana and founded new kingdoms there. Under their leadership, the whole 'Hindu Nation'—its princes and peoples, its militant and non-militant classes, its men, women and children—now began to put up a strong fight against the invaders for the liberty of its country and for the protection of its 'Religions', 'Culture' and 'Civilization.' In this struggle which lasted for full six hundred years, the 'Hindus' showed such a great spirit of self-sacrifice and bravery that the very mention thereof fills every 'Hindu' heart with ecstasy even till today! Tons and Tons of the best blood of Hindu patriots were poured into the valleys of 'Haldighat'! The whole populace of 'Chittor' and the neighbouring lands effaced itself out completely before it allowed the flag of the fortress to be lowered! 'Padmini' and her fair comrades made

*sorts of differences of details* which no amount of human ingenuity could foresee or exhaustively classify. While, therefore, it was impossible that any "Religion" could be born, after "Sanatan Dharma" had been fully evolved, which could claim to be wholly "new" in its very "essence" or from the point of view of its broad principles, *any number of them* could come into existence at all times which could be regarded as "new" *from the point of view of their innumerable details*. According to the general principles of "Sanatan Dharma", however, even that did not matter at all if only the leaders of all these "new" religions were willing to subordinate them to the general requirements of Hindu "Dharma" and make the strict observance of the principles of that "Dharma" an integral part thereof.

Now the very first "new" religions, in that limited sense of the term "religion" that we have referred to above, that arose in India were "Jainism" and "Buddhism". Ordinarily speaking, since they had both sprung up from the "Sankhya Darshan Shastra," if only the leaders of both of them had from the ve-

beginning also subordinated them to or supplemented them with the "Dharmic" part of "Sanatan Dharma", even the very fact of their having come into existence at all might have passed unnoticed. But though the "Jains" always adopted a mild attitude, the "Buddhists" gradually became more and more aggressive and disrespectful of the various "Dharmic" principles of "Sanatan Dharma." This naturally created a breach between them and the "Sanatanists" which ultimately developed into a kind of "Civil War" between the two, in which the latter had to suffer a lot. Thanks to the efforts of Jagad-Guru Sri Shankaracharya Ji Maharaj, however, the majority of the "Buddhists" were finally converted to "Sanatan Dharma." This had a most chastening effect on those "Buddhists" who still preferred to remain so and they, along with the Jains, were now generally willing to be bound together with the "Sanatanists" into a common national polity. Adopting the term "Hindu", therefore, to represent all the people of India as they then existed, the leaders of "Sanatan Dharma," in order to bind them together into an "Ideal National Church," extended the

principles of that "Dharma" so as to be applicable to all the "Hindus" or, in other words, to all the people of India of that time and thus laid down the foundations of what has since then been known as "Hinduism."

The pattern was now set so far at least as India was concerned. The founders of all "new" religions or religious sects that subsequently arose in India—such as "Sikhism", the "Arya-Samaj", the "Brahmo-Samaj", the "Prarthna-Samaj", the "Dev-Samaj", the "Radha Swami Satsang", the "Theosophical Society" and others—always implicitly or explicitly supplemented them with and subordinated them to the general requirements of "Hindu Dharma". Their new "religions" or "religious sects" were consequently always regarded as a part of "Hinduism" and their followers were always regarded as "Hindus" and given all the privileges of "Hindu Society" without any reservations whatsoever.

*It is a pity, however, that the same process of incorporating all "new" religions into "Hinduism", after supplementing them with and subordinating them to the general require-*

ments of "Hindu Dharma", was not applied by its leaders to those of them that were born outside India. This is specially to be regretted when it is remembered that there were only four such religions that required to be taken note of, namely, "Islam", "Christianity", "Zorasterism" and "Hebrewism". If the "Hindu" leaders had "Hinduised" these religions as soon after they had been born as possible, all those "Hindus" who might have preferred any one of them to any of the existing "Hindu" creeds would thereby have been enabled to adopt them without ceasing to be "Hindus" and all those foreign adherents of these religions he that might have come to India could easily be made "Hindus" and incorporated into the "Hindu Nation" without giving up or having to give up their own religions! The wonderful solidarity of the great "Hindu Nation" could then have been never impaired in any way nor could it ever have been reduced to the status of a mere "Community", as it at present has been, by the influx of any number of foreign immigrants into the country or the conversion of any number of "Hindus" to those foreign-born faiths! And the same process could be

applied to any new "religions" that might still be born anywhere in the world in future and the ever-lasting solidarity of the whole "Hindu Nation" under all circumstances whatsoever would thus have been permanently assured !

It is never too late to do the right thing, however. Let some representative body of the "Hindus", therefore, say the "Hindu Mahasabha" or an "All-India Conference" of the "Hindus" specially called for the purpose immediately appoint a "Supreme Council for Hinduising all Foreign Religions." This "Council" should then find out suitable "Hindu" names for all the four foreign-born religions that at present require to be "Hinduised." We suggest that "Islam" may be referred to as the "Nirakar Samaj", "Christianity" as the "Prem Samaj", "Zorasterism" as the "Agni-Pujak Samaj" and "Hebrewism" as the "Pavitra Samaj." Any other names, however, that may appear to be more appropriate may be adopted. This "Council" should then itself start these four "Samajes" and draft their constitutions. The "Principles" of all these "Samajes" would consist of two different parts, known as the "Dharmic" and the

"Religious" parts respectively. The "Dharmic" principles of all these "Samajes" would be the same and would always take precedence over the "Religious" ones. The "Religious" principles thereof, on the other hand, would differ from one another and would be exactly the same as the "Principles" of those foreign born "Religions" which these "Samajes" are meant to replace. The constitution of each one of these "Samajes" would thus begin by first stating its "Dharmic" principles as follows:—

First, the members of this "Samaj" would all *call and refer to themselves as "Hindus"*.

Secondly, the members of this "Samaj" would all have "Sanskrit-derived" names or those that could pass as such.

Thirdly, the members of this "Samaj" would all *ally themselves with the "Hindu" group for life and death as against any and all other external groups in the whole world in the sense that if ever the former were to come into conflict with the latter, they would stand shoulder to shoulder with the first and*

ever prove a traitor to it by joining the second for any reason whatsoever.

Fourthly, the members of this "Samaj" would all have the "Shikha" as an external emblem to shew that they were "Hindus" and in order to distinguish them from the "Non-Hindus". (The use of the "Yagopwit" by them would, however, be optional.)

Fifthly, the members of this "Samaj" would all live, dress and behave *as far as possible* in the "Hindu" style, fashion or manner.

Sixthly, the "Terminology" of the "Theology" of this "Samaj" would be of "Sanskrit" origin, irrespective of the language or dialect in which its religious books or literature might be written and the members of this "Samaj" would also always take care to use this "Terminology" in their regular life and specially when they refer to God, Soul or Matter and other important religious terms.

Seventhly, the members of this "Samaj" would all regard the whole Theology, Philosophy, Scriptures and Literature of "Hinduism"

as their own common heritage, even though they themselves were concerned with or interested in only a part of it.

Eighthly, the members of this "Samaj" would all be tolerant of the religious and the social beliefs, ideals and customs of all the various sects of "Hinduism" as well as of all other peoples in the world, *provided they also did the same*, and would give to all others the same liberty of thought, speech and action as they would claim for themselves, though they would always be free to convert others to their own views or creed by means of private or public "Shastrartha" or discussions.

Ninthly, the members of this "Samaj" would all mould their lives *as far as possible* in accordance with the ideals of "Varnashram Dhama" as well as respect the new "Caste" regulations prevalent in "Hindu" Society, though they would be free to recognise no castes *so far as they themselves are concerned* and would also be free to marry whomsoever they like with the consent of the other party within or without the "Hindu" fold. If they marry an individual of any of the existing "Hindu"

castes, the latter would automatically cease to be a member of that "Caste" and neither of these two parties would feel any offence at it against that "Caste" or against the "Hindus" in general.

Tenthly, the members of this "Samaj" would all abstain from "Cow-killing" and "Beef-eating", whether they do or do not also respect or worship the "Cow" in addition thereto.

Eleventhly, the members of this "Samaj" would all observe certain minimum standards of cleanliness of body, diet, dress and housing if they want to be treated as "Touchables" in "Hindu" Society. If they do not observe these standards of cleanliness, they would naturally be treated as "Untouchables", though still regarded as a part of that Society, and they would in that case willingly allow their being so treated in the interests of the maintenance of those standards of cleanliness therein.

Twelfthly, the members of this "Samaj" would all regard the Ancient History of India as their own history and adore the best

of that history even though they themselves were descended from people who had fought against or had been defeated by those heroes —“Group-heroes” thus getting a preference over even their own particular ancestors.

Thirteenthly, the members of this “Samaj” would all wish, aspire and work for the glory, greatness and welfare of the whole “Hindu” group more than for any other external group in the whole world.

Fourteenthly, the members of this “Samaj” would all celebrate or take part as far as possible in all the more important “Hindu” festivals, such as “Ram-Naumi”, “Raksha-Bandhan”, “Krishna-Janamashtmi”, “Dasehra”, “Durga-Puja”, “Diwali”, “Basant-Utsav”, “Holi”, “Kumbh”, “Ardh-Kumbhs” and others. As some of these festivals are connected with some “Gods” or “Avatars” whom the members of this “Samaj” do not accept as such, the latter would regard the former as “Maha-Purush” or “Heroes” and then take part in the festivals held in their honour without in any way trying to injure the feelings of those who preferred to treat them in the former way.

And finally, the members of this "Samaj" would as far as possible burn their dead.

The constitution of each one of these "Samajes" would then proceed to describe its "Religious" principles which would be exactly the same as the principles of the corresponding "Religion" which each one of these "Samajes" is meant to replace, except in so far as it may be necessary to modify them in order to bring them into harmony with the "Dharmic" principles noted above. In the case of those of these "Religious Principles" with regard to which there are any differences of opinion between the followers of different "Sects" of the same "Religion", *all* the different views on the subject should be adopted at the same time, making it *optional* for the members of these "Samajes" to follow any one of these alternatives they like. The problem arising out of the existence of two or more "Sects" within most of these foreign religions would thus be solved without creating any new "Sects" within these "Samajes" themselves.

*We earnestly appeal to the "Hindu" leaders to put the above scheme into actual oper*

without any further delay, after making any improvements or modifications therein that they may think advisable. We further appeal to all our "Muslim", "Christian", "Parsee" and "Jew" compatriots and their various organizations to give their most careful consideration to the above proposals and request those of them that accept them to write to us as well as to the President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha Delhi, expressing their willingness to join these "Samajes", if started, and offering their co-operation in bringing them into being as soon as possible. They could even appoint their own "Committees", if they liked, to bring their own respective "Samajes" into being. Since these "Samajes", however, would even then have to be recognised by the "Hindus" in some way before they can be formally admitted to the fold of "Hinduism" and their members are given all the privileges of "Hindu Society", it would be better if the work of creating them and drafting their constitutions is taken up by the "Hindu Mahasabha" or a general "Conference" of the "Hindus" from the very beginning so that they may come to be recognised as a part of "Hinduism" at the very outset.

But whosoever actually brings these "Samajes" into being, it must be clearly understood that it is only when they would have been created and the whole of India would thereby have been inseparably knit together through them into a mighty "Hindu-Indian Nation" that the whole "Communal Problem of India" would be finally and permanently solved and all communal controversies, bitternesses and riots that so frequently arise or take place at present, would ever completely cease to exist.

There is one thing in this connection that we have to point out to all our "Muslim", "Christian", "Parsee" and "Jew" compatriots. A "Religion" simply means a set of theological doctrines. As soon, however, as any "Religion" is born anywhere in the world, the "Culture" of the country where it takes birth or which becomes its chief centre, generally comes to be associated with it and is wrongly regarded as an essential part thereof. "Islam" as a "Religion" has thus come to be associated with the "Arabian", "Turkish" and "Persian" "Civilizations" and "Cultures" and "Christianity" with the "European" "Civiliza-

tion" and "Culture". As a matter of fact, however, these "Religions" and the various "Civilizations" and "Cultures" that are at present associated with them are really wholly different things and should not be mixed together in any way. The acceptance of "Islam" or "Christianity" as "Religions" should not consequently mean that one should also accept the "Arabian", "Turkish", "Persian" or "European" "Civilizations" and "Cultures" along with them. Not only this, when it is remembered that every country gradually comes to evolve that particular type of "Civilization" and "Culture" which is best suited to it, it can even be said that the inhabitants of every country, while adopting any foreign "Religion" should as far as possible try to remain faithful and continue to stick to the "Civilization" and "Culture" of their own country. If they take care to do so, they would very seldom come into conflict with the rest of their countrymen and can continue to live as amicably and harmoniously with them as they would have been doing before. They would at the same time be serving their own country also to some extent as the "Civilization" and "Culture" of every country generally comes to consist of those things that are most con-

ducive to its welfare, progress and prosperity. That is also why the inhabitants of every country hate more those who give up its "Civilization" and "Culture" even though sticking to its "Religion" or to any one of its various "Religions" than those who merely give up its "Religion" or "Religions" while retaining its "Civilization" and "Culture." "Hinduism," as we have already shewn in the previous chapter, is not a "Religion" but the "Civilization" and "Culture" of India as it has gradually come to be. All the "Religions" born in India have naturally come to be associated with it and consequently it has also in its own turn come to be associated with all of them. Every Indian should, however, be free to adopt any "Religion" he likes, whether of Indian or of foreign origin. As things stand, however, if anybody at present adopts any "Religion" of foreign origin, he is at the same time forced to accept the particular foreign "Civilization" and "Culture" also which has accidentally come to be associated with it: and is obliged to cut himself off completely from the "Civilization" and "Culture" of his country and thus becomes wholly alienated from the rest of his countrymen in every way. This is

unfair to these converts as well as to the country to which they belong. We have, therefore, proposed to throw open the gates of "Hinduism" to everybody so that one may be free to adopt any "Religion" born anywhere in the world one likes and still be a follower of Indian "Civilization" and "Culture" and may also remain a part of "Hindu Society" and live peacefully and harmoniously with the rest of his countrymen as a part of the same "Social Group" as they. We hope our "Muslim," "Christian," "Parsee" and "Jew" compatriots would realise the full importance and significance of the proposal we have made above and would extend their fullest possible co-operation to the "Hindu Mahasabha" or the "Conference of the Hindus" specially called for the purpose, in bringing the above-mentioned "Samajes" into being and then join them *en masse*.

There may and probably would be both at present as well as for some time to come in the future, however, some "Muslims", "Christians," "Parsees" and "Jews" who would prefer to stick to their existing "Religions" in their foreign garb rather than in their "Hinduised"

form. This means, in other words, that there would probably be for some time to come at least some "Muslims," "Christians," "Parsees" and "Jews" also in the country besides the large majority of the people who at present are or would gradually be becoming "Hindus" through conversion to any of the existing "Religions" of "Hinduism" or by joining the above-mentioned "Samajes." The problem, therefore, arises as to how the various communities of India should live or be made to live till the whole of India is finally "Hinduised" so that the various "Communal Issues" that so frequently arise between them at present may be prevented or controlled as far as possible. We would now proceed to consider this problem in some detail.

The first thing that we have to observe in that connection is that though "Hindu Indian Nationalism," as we have described it above, would be the only ideal, solid and permanent "Nationalism" that India can have, still till that "Nationalism" is voluntarily accepted by all the existing communities of India, we should all immediately accept the ideal of pure "Indian Nationalism." Under this "Nation-

lism," the only thing that should be required from every Indian is the observance of only *three* out of the *fifteen* principles of "Hindu Dharma," namely, the third, the eighth and the thirteenth, after being restated so as to be applicable to all Indians. There should thus be only three cardinal principles of "Indian Nationalism" which may be described as follows:—

In the first place, every Indian should *ally* himself with the "Indian" group for life and death as against any and all other *external* groups in the whole world in the sense that if ever the former were to come into conflict with the latter, they would stand shoulder to shoulder with the first and never prove a traitor to it by joining the second for any reason whatsoever.

In the second place, every Indian should be tolerant of the religious and the social beliefs, ideals and customs of every community living in India, *provided the latter also did the same*, and should give to all others the same liberty of thought, speech and action as he claimed for himself, though he could always try to convert others to his own views or creeds

by means of private or public "Shastrarthas" or discussions.

And finally, every Indian should wish, aspire and work for the glory, greatness and welfare of the whole "Indian" group more than for any other "external" group in the whole world.

We hope all right-minded persons would agree that these are the *minimum* conditions on which *any* kind of "Nationalism" whatsoever can ever be built. All those who are not prepared to be faithful to a country, to live harmoniously with its people or to work so as to promote their welfare, have no right to be where they are and would do well to transfer themselves as soon as possible to any other country which they hold dearer to their heart. This is an elementary rule of public morality and applies to all countries and nations equally. We strongly advise the "Indian National Congress," the "Indian Liberal Federation", the "Hindu Mahasabha," the "Muslim League" and all other political organizations in the country, therefore, to immediately incorporate these three principles of "Indian Nationalism" in their creeds and make their observance obligatory on all their

members. If any of these organizations fails or refuses to do so, it is the duty of the State to declare it to be an unlawful body till it has actually done so. It is the duty of the State further to make the observance of these principles obligatory on all those who want to enjoy any rights of "Citizenship" in the country-including the "Right of Vote" and the "Right to stand as candidates for any Elective Body" or to retain or secure any employment or business under it in any way.

"Indian Nationalism" can, however, only bind together all the different Communities of India into one common group *without actually amalgamating them into one or removing the "Causes" of all the various "Communal Issues" that ever arise between them.* "Hindu Indian Nationalism", as we have described it above, tries to amalgamate all the various communities of India into a big "Hindu Indian Nation" and thus finally and permanently puts an end to all "Communal" controversies and problems that so often arise in India. If, therefore, "Indian Nationalism" is to attain more or less the same result even though in a less efficacious or more

tedious way, it must be further supplemented by a huge programme of preventing and controlling the occurrence and the recurrence of all the "Communal Issues" that so often arise between the various communities of India.

The second thing, therefore, that we have to do is to shew in some detail how the "Causes" of all kinds of "Communal Issues" that now and then arise between the two communities can be prevented or controlled in the best possible way so that these "Issues" may never arise at all or may do so as rarely as possible. Looking back to the analysis we have made of these "Issues" in the second chapter of this work, we find that there are four sets of "Causes" that give rise thereto, namely, first, the "Spirit of Communism"; secondly, "Religious Bigotry"; thirdly, "Difficulties arising out of Historical Relationships"; and fourthly, "Difficulties arising out of Contradictory Real, Supposed or Perverted Religious or Communal Requirements, Practices, Interests or Sentiment". We would, therefore, divide our subject into four parts, dealing with each one of these sets of "Causes" and the "Communal Issues" that arise out of them, under separate headings below.

## The “Communal Issues” arising out of the “Spirit of Communalism”.

The first kind of “Communal Issues” that we have to take note of are those that arise out of the “Spirit of Communalism”. This “Spirit”, as we have already pointed out, is the outcome of ten different causes, each one of which must be “controlled” in its own way if this “Spirit” is to be curbed at all. Taking each one of these “Causes”, therefore, as we have enumerated them in the previous chapter, we may lay down the following precepts for bringing them under proper control: —

The first cause of the “Spirit of Communalism” is the actual organization of the two communities into separate and more or less rival, hostile or antagonistic groups.” The only “Cure” of this “Cause” is the merging of all these communities into one in accordance with our Ideal of “Hindu Indian Nationalism” as we have described it above. We, therefore, strongly advise all the Communities of India to work unitedly for the realisation of that Ideal as soon as possible, for it is only

when the whole of India would have been thus united that the "Spirit of Communalism" would be really and permanently abolished.

The second cause of the "Spirit of Communalism" is "the existence of the 'Communal Riots' themselves where even the 'Non-Communalists' are freely attacked and are consequently *forced* to become 'Communalists'." The "Cure" of this "Cause" is wholly in the hands of the "rioters" who, if they like, can leave all professed "Non-Communalists" of the other Community quite unmolested and thus help in limiting the "Spirit of Communalism" to some extent in their own way.

The third cause of the "Spirit of Communalism" is "Communal Education". In order to "Cure" this "Cause", all kinds of "Communal Educational Institutions" should be either wholly abolished or allowed to function only under strict State supervision and control. If any of these institutions are found to preach or encourage "Communalism" in any way, they should be warned and if they still persist in so doing, they should be immediately closed. They should, moreover, be required to get State sanction be-

fore they can appoint or turn out any member of their staff and the State should refuse to give this sanction if the candidate in question is known to have any "Communal" leanings or if the member who is being turned out is being so treated because he is *not* a "Communalist."

The fourth cause of the "Spirit of Communalism" are the "Communal Institutions" of all kinds. These institutions are generally dependent for their funds and patronage on "Communalists" and in order to impress their importance and utility upon them, they very often indulge in activities which embitter Communal relations. The State should consequently keep a strict watch over all such institutions and prevent them from indulging in such activities and if they persist in so doing, it should declare them to be unlawful bodies and punish those who still associate with them in any way.

The fifth cause of the "Spirit of Communalism" are the "Communal Preachers". These people sometimes go about delivering such fiery speeches against the other community that those who listen to them as well as those whom they attack are bound to turn "Communalists". It is the

duty of all "Communal" organizations and Leaders, therefore, to keep a strict watch on all their paid or unpaid "Preachers" and take strong disciplinary action against them if they misbehave themselves in any way. The State should also keep a regular watch over these people and first warn and then punish them strongly whenever they are found to indulge in any such activities.

The Sixth cause of the "Spirit of Communalism" is the "Communal Press". Some communal papers and magazines, specially those that appear in the vernaculars, find it very profitable for them to hurl all sorts of abuses and insults at the other communities or their members and they consequently freely indulge in this pastime and thereby cause a lot of ill-will between the two communities. It is the duty of the State, therefore, to censor all such papers *before they are published* and to altogether ban the *publication* of those of them that are found to be specially troublesome in this respect.

The Seventh cause of the "Spirit of Communalism" is "Communal Literature". All such literature is not objectionable but only that which

creates hatred or ill-will between different communities. The State should, therefore, keep a strict watch over all such literature and ban its publication whenever it is likely to embitter communal feelings in any way.

The Eighth and last cause of the "Spirit of Communalism" are the "Separate Electorates". The State should, therefore, immediately abolish these "Electorates" and replace them by "Joint" ones, at the same time protecting the interests of the "Minorities" in some other way which does not have the same evil effects. If, however, it cannot see its way to do so for any reason, it should at least prohibit all *convassing* by candidates who stand for election to any legislature under those conditions, for it is through this *convassing* that the greatest amount of mischief associated with "Joint Electorates" is caused and if it is consequently altogether prohibited, the harm done by these "Electorates" would be greatly reduced.

These are then all the different ways in which the "Spirit of Communalism" can be "curbed" by "controlling" all those "causes" that give rise thereto. This "control" may not,

however, be always exercised in actual practice and then the "Spirit of Communalism" would always exist in different communities in proportion to the number of its "causes" and the intensity with which they work. This "Spirit of Communalism" would then lead those who are infected with it to act against the rights, interests or sentiments of the other community, in five different ways, in each of which it gives rise to one or more "Communal" Issue or Issues. The problem, therefore, arises as to how all these ways in which this "Spirit" works and the various "Communal Issues" that arise out of them can in their own turn be "controlled" or "prevented from occurring or recurring" as much as possible. We shall consequently now proceed to consider this problem in some detail. We shall take up each one of these various "ways," as already enumerated in the second chapter, and deal with them under separate sub-headings below.

**(1) The Communalists' Desire to See One's own Community alone Rule or Serve in the Country.**

In the first place, the "Spirit of Communalism" creates a desire in those who are infected

with it to see one's own community alone rule or survive in the country. This, as we have already pointed out, makes the "Communalists" adopt an extremely aggressive, dominant and uncompromising attitude towards the other community and to suppress it in every way. It leads them at the same time to increase the number of their own community members as much as possible either by increasing their birth-rate or through dishonest conversions and to decrease the number and the riches of the other community by kidnapping, murdering or robbing its members. It is the duty of the State, therefore, to curb this "Desire" of the communalists and its various manifestations as much as possible so that the various "Communal Issues" that arise out of it may be stopped at their very source as it were. This can be done in seven different ways which may be described as follows:—

In the first place, all those individuals who preach the doctrine of "Communal Rule or Survival" or create hatred or ill-will against any community or behave towards its members in an aggressive or dominating manner out of the

"Spirit of Communalism" should be first warned and then prosecuted and severely punished.

Secondly, the State should recognise and protect only those "Conversions" from one community to the other that are purely the outcome of "religious conviction." All other kinds of "Conversions" should be regarded as illegitimate and those who bring them about as well as those who *willingly* submit thereto should be punished. The "Conversion" of minors and mentally deranged persons should not, moreover, be permitted under any circumstances whatsoever. The "Conversions" of females and illiterate males should similarly be always most carefully scrutinised and allowed only on very clear proofs being forthcoming with regard to their *bona fides*. In order to do all this work efficiently, the State would do well to start a new department of its own, called the "Conversions Scrutiny and Recognition Department" and give it full powers to deal with all "Conversions" in accordance with the principles laid down above.

Thirdly, the State should declare all "kidnapping" by the members of all communities of

the *females* of the other community a crime punishable with *death* and of the *males* of the latter a crime punishable with rigorous imprisonment extending over a very long period. Besides this, as soon as the report of any "Kidnapping" case having occurred has been received by it, it should at once move all its available forces to arrest the kidnappers and bring them to book. If any of its officers is found to be negligent or lenient in the discharge of his duty in this respect, it should at once suspend him and give him some exemplary punishment so that others may be discouraged from adopting the same course in future.

Fourthly, the State should award "Capital" punishment to those who murder and even attempt to murder the members of the other community out of "Communal" frenzy as well as those who encourage, aid or abet the former in any way and also confiscate all their property.

And finally, the State should give "Capital" punishment to all those who try to rob or loot or actually rob or loot the members of the other community or their property out of the "Spirit

of Communalism" or encourage, aid or abet them in any way and also confiscate all their property, the looted property or its equivalent being first returned to its rightful owners in all cases as far as possible.

**(2) The Communalists' Desire for a "Partition" of the Country.**

In the second place, the "Spirit of Communalism" leads those who are infected with it to seek the "Partition" of the Country so that they may become the unrestricted rulers of at least some part of it, irrespective of what may become of the whole country. The best way in which this desire on the part of the "Communalists" can be handled is by systematically exposing the fallacies of the arguments on which they base their case for "Partition" and shewing to them how everybody, including their own community itself, is likely or bound to suffer under their proposed new arrangement. Side by side with this, earnest attempts should be made to redraft the constitution of the whole country and to manage its affairs in such a way that no community may feel that it is being dominated by the others in any way or is not getting its due share in the

administration of the whole country or as many opportunities for the growth of its members and itself as any other community in the country.

(3) The Communalists' Tendency to Demand, Secure, or Establish by Force Rights and Privileges for their Community at the cost of others.

In the third place, the "Spirit of Communalism" leads those who are infected with it to demand, secure or establish by force rights and privileges for their own community at the cost of the others. Whenever the Communalists' do this, the State should sternly refuse to listen to them and prevent them by force from carrying out their designs in any way. If the State fails to do this, it is the duty of the other communities to organise and make themselves so strong in every way that the aggressive elements of the other community may be forced to think ten times before picking up a quarrel with them and may be compelled to adopt a more reasonable attitude towards them. The leaders of these other communities would then be doing what the whole "Nation" or its representative, the State, should have done and they should not in that case be dubbed as "Communalists" or treated as such!

**(4) The Communalists' Desire to Impose their own Languages, Culture and Civilization upon the other Community against its Wishes,**

Fourthly, the "Spirit of Communalism" leads those who suffer from it to impose their own languages, culture and civilization upon the other community against its wishes. It is one thing if some community or all communities *voluntarily* accept the language, culture or civilization of any one of the existing communities in the country and quite a different thing if they are *forced* to do so *against their wishes*. It is a perfectly legitimate desire in all individuals to see their own language, culture or civilization spread throughout the world but there can be no justification whatsoever for their wishing to *force* these down upon others in any way. The communalists, however, always try to do so whenever they can and thus give rise to many "Communal Issues" between their own and other communities. The famous "Hindi Urdu Controversy" is one such "Communal Issue" that so frequently arises between the "Hindus" and the "Muslims" of India. There is no reason, however, why any "Hindu" should wish to force "Hindi" upon the "Muslims" or any

“Muslim” should wish to force “Urdu” upon the “Hindus”. What both of them can legitimately wish and desire is the freedom for their own selves to take to either “Hindi” or “Urdu”, or any other language for the matter of that, as they like. We, therefore, suggest that “Hindustani” and *neither “Hindi” nor “Urdu”* should be declared to be the “Lingua Franca” of India, meaning by “Hindustani” *that language of the vast majority of the Indian people which contains only the simplest and more or less equal number of words of both “Hindi” and “Urdu”, it being further written in both the “Sanskrit” and the “Persian” alphabets.* Side by side with this, both “Hindi” and “Urdu” should also be recognised as having an independent status and should be developed as literary languages, both of them gradually incorporating under them an ever increasing number of “Sanskrit” and “Persian” or “Arabic” words respectively. If all this is done, the present “Hindi-Urdu Controversy” would soon become a thing of the past. Similarly, with regard to other “Communal Issues” that arise under this category between the two communities, it may be laid down as a rule that if a “National” cultural formulae is to be evolved in connection

with any topic, the culture of all communities should be more or less equally represented on it, until and unless all the communities have voluntarily agreed to accept any one of these cultures, in which case the latter alone would then prevail. The "Bande-Matram" song, for instance, when sung in any "National" gathering, should thus be *always accompanied* by some "Muslim", "Christian" and "Parsee" patriotic songs *if these communities so desire*. The "Vidya-Mandirs" should similarly be also called "Maktab" and "Schools." And the same principle should be followed with regard to all other problems that may arise under this category.

**(5) The Communalists' doing some Material Wrong, Insult, Injustice or Injury to the other Community or to its Property, Interests or Rights.**

Finally, the "Spirit of Communalism" leads its victims to do some material wrong, insult, injustice or injury to the other community or to its property, interests or rights. Whenever any such thing happens, it is the duty of the State to at once arrest the offenders and bring them to justice *at public expense*. If the state fails or refuses to do so for any reason, the members of the

aggrieved community should *first refer the matter to the leaders and the authoritative organizations of the other Community* and if both of them fail to give them redress, they or some of their representative organizations should *take the matter to the "Law-Courts"* and abide by their decision in all cases.

### B. The "Communal Issues" arising out of "Religious Bigotry."

The second set of "Communal Issues" that we have to take note of are those that arise out of "Religious Bigotry". There are three such "Communal Issues," as we have already pointed out in the second chapter. Let us see how these "Issues" can be "Controlled" or "Prevented from Occuring or Recurring" as much as possible.

#### (1) The Religious Bigots' Abusing or Dishonouring the other Community's Gods, Prophets, "Avatars" and Religious Personages, Scriptures or Sacred Spots.

First, "Religious Bigotry" leads the bigots to abuse or dishonour the other community's gods, prophets, "Avatars" and religious personages,

scriptures or sacred spots or to injure its religious sentiments in some other way, thereby creating a "Communal Issue" between the two communities. Whenever the bigots try to do or actually do any of these things, the State should at once arrest them and give them exemplary punishment. If these people plan to form a procession or hold a public or private meeting with the express purpose of committing the above offence, the State should take them in custody as soon as they get out of their houses or institutions with "garlands" on their bodies or "flags" in their hands and thus prevent them from forming such processions or holding such meetings at all. It is the duty of all right thinking men of all communities and specially of the community to which these people belong, moreover, to condemn them in very clear terms and thus discourage others from adopting the same course in future.

**(2) The Religious Bigots' Praising or Honouring their own Gods or Religious Personages, Leaders or Fanatics in Objectionable Ways.**

Secondly "Religious Bigotry" leads the bigots to *praise* or *honour* those of their own gods or religious personages, leaders or fanatics who had

fought against, humiliated, defeated, annihilated or bravely challenged or resisted the aggression of the other community's gods or religious personages or martyred or sacrificed themselves for the sake of their own community or religion, *in respect to those very incidents of their career* in such a way *as to taunt or injure the feelings of the other community*. In this connection, it may be pointed out that there is a very wrong notion generally prevalent in the minds of even some of the most intellectual and high-placed persons on this subject, namely, that it is only the *abuse* or the *dishonour* of somebody that is really objectionable but that there can never be anything wrong in *Praising* or *Honouring* anybody under *any* circumstances whatsoever. As a matter of fact, however, if the "praise" or the "honour" of anybody is done in such a way that it clearly means the "abuse" or the "dishonour" of somebody else, it also becomes as highly objectionable as any direct "abuse" or "dishonour" of the latter. If the gods or the religious personages of the two communities had ever been in conflict with one another or had done something in consequence of or in relation to any such conflict, the *praise* or the *honour*

of any of them belonging to one community *might* mean the *abuse* or the *dishonour* of some of the others belonging to the other community. No community can and should, however, be prevented from praising or honouring its own divine or human heroes. The only thing that can and should be done is to take care that when any such "praise" is done or "honour" rendered, it is never done in such a way as to taunt or injure the feelings of the other community.

**(3) The Religious Bigot's violently Criticising others and Resenting even Fair Criticism of their own Things.**

Finally, "Religious Bigotry" leads the bigots to criticise or talk about the religious and the social beliefs, ideals and customs of the other community in a most offensive way and to resent even a fair criticism of their own religious and social beliefs, ideals and customs and misbehave towards or roughly handle those who make it. Both these attitudes of the "Religious Bigots" are wrong. But it is no use arguing with them. They can only be restrained by state action. It is the duty of the State, therefore, to at once

arrest and punish all those who criticise or talk about the religious and the social beliefs, ideals and customs of the other community in an offensive or objectionable manner. It should at the same time provide full protection to those who make a "Fair Criticism" of the other community's things and severely punish those who misbehave towards or roughly handle them in any way for so doing.

C. The "Communal Issues" that are the outcome of "Difficulties arising out of Historical Relationships."

The third set of "Communal Issues" that we have to take note of are those that are the outcome of "Difficulties arising out of Historical Relationships." There are four "Issues" that arise in this way. Let us see how they can be "controlled" or "prevented" from occurring or recurring as much as possible.

(1) "Historical Relationships" leading to the Abuse and the Dishonour of Historical Personages.

First, "Historical Relationships" between the two communities might have been such that they

or their leaders had fought against one another in the past and done something in connection with these conflicts for which the members of the other community or their own might abuse or dishonour or praise or honour them in any way, thereby giving rise to "Communal Issues" between the two communities. In all these cases, the same rules should be applied as we have laid down in connection with the abuse or praise of a community's Gods and Religious Personages in the previous section.

(2) "Historical Relationships Leading to the Existence of Humiliating Monuments and Relics.

Secondly, Historical Relationships between the two communities might have been such that one of them had put the other to great humiliation or done to it great injury or injustice, reminders of which in the form of monuments and relics might still exist. The very sight of these 'reminders' consequently excites the feelings of the aggrieved community and creates a desire in it to take a revenge on the other community for the faults of its predecessors or to destroy those monuments by force, thereby creating a "Communal Issue" between the two communities. It

is the duty of the State, therefore, to at once restore all these monuments and rélics to their original form and where this cannot be done, it should screen them from public view as far as possible. The famous "Shiva" temple of Benares, like many others, half of which stands in its original form and the other half of which has been converted into a mosque, is a standing disgrace to all the 'Hindus' of all times and should at once be restored, along with all the others, to its original form by State decree. The present policy, similarly, of allowing all sorts of broken images to be exposed to public view in practically all the museums of India is positively harmful and should be at once discontinued. These images and similar other things should be all brought together at one place near the central office of the Archealogical Department and only those who are interested in Historical or Archealogical Research should be allowed access thereto by means of 'Passes' which should be treated as strictly non-transferable.

**(3) Historical Relationships Resulting in Disputes about Communal Ownerships, Rights and Privileges.**

And finally, Historical Relationships between the two communities might have been such that

some things, properties or places belonging to one community might have been wrongfully taken possession of by the other or one community might have acquired certain undue rights and privileges over or as against the other, which the latter is no longer prepared to recognise or allow. The recent 'Shahid-gunj Mosque' and the 'Delhi Shiva Mandir' affairs belong to this category. Many more of such 'affairs' are likely to arise in the future. It is the duty of the State, therefore, to take note of all such cases and get them examined on its own initiative by special tribunals or ordinary courts as it may deem fit and restore the 'properties' concerned to their rightful owners so that they may never become the subject of a 'Communal Issue'. It should at the same time put an end to all those rights and privileges of both communities which they might have acquired in the past but which appear to be quite inequitable or improper in any way at the present time.

**D. The 'Communal Issues' that are the outcome of Difficulties arising out of Contradictory Real, Supposed or Perverted Religious**

## or Communal Requirements, Practices, Interests or Sentiments.

The last set of 'Communal Issues' that we have to take note of are those that are the outcome of difficulties arising out of contradictory real, supposed or perverted religious or communal requirements, practices, interests or sentiments. There are seven different kinds of 'Communal Issues' that arise in this way. We shall deal with each one of them separately below.

### (1) The Problem of Music or Loud Sounds before Mosques, Temples and other places.

We would first deal with the problem of music or loud sounds before mosques, temples and other places.

We may begin by pointing out that 'Noise' of all kinds is a great nuisance to society and a great disturber of mental peace. The higher consequently a society rises in the scale of civilization, the greater the attention it pays to the reduction and elimination of all kinds of 'Noises' therein so far as it can be done without violating any other rule or requirement of human life.

Now 'Noise' is only 'sound' of any kind beyond a particular *pitch*. In the ordinary course of their lives, all individuals make 'sounds' of various kinds in talking, laughing, weeping, singing and working. To interfere with them in any of these things in any way would be to deprive them of one of the most essential of human rights, namely, that of human liberty. When any of these 'sounds,' however, exceeds a particular 'pitch' thereof and thus gets converted into 'Noise,' it becomes solely the prerogative of society to determine whether it would allow the latter or not, and if so, under what conditions and to what extent. Three situations may then arise. There may be some kinds of 'Noises' that have to be allowed under all conditions, some others that can only be permitted with some reservations; and some others that cannot be tolerated at all. There is only one kind of 'Noise' that has to be allowed under all conditions, namely, 'War Noise,' or in other words, that which is caused in Warfare. *There is no other kind of 'Noise' that belongs to this category for all 'Noises' whatsoever have to be stopped during times of War,* whenever it may be deemed necessary to do so in order to prevent the enemy

from getting a clue to human habitation or otherwise profiting thereby in any way. There are four other kinds of 'Noises,' however, that *almost* fall within this category for the only restriction that can be put upon them is that of 'War' and beyond that they are absolutely inviolable. These 'Noises' are, first, those that are made by all categories of public servants in the due discharge of their civil duties; secondly, those that are made when mournings for the dead are going on; thirdly, those that are caused when somebody raises an alarm at the appearance or arrival at some place of any thief, decoit, enemy, snake or wild beast or at the impending danger of any fire, flood, house-collapse or any other natural or artificial calamity; and finally, those that form an *essential* part of the prayers or the social or the religious functions, ceremonies or processions of any community. These 'Noises' may be referred to as 'Privileged Noises.' Next in order to these come all those 'Noises' that can only be permitted with some reservations. These 'Noises' are of four kinds, namely, first, those that are caused by the regular or temporary assemblage of a number of people in any locality for business, pleasure, travel, meeting or any other

*lawful* purpose; secondly, those that are caused in or near public places, children's parks, public offices, educational institutions and places of public amusement; thirdly, those that are caused by people while they carry on their ordinary vocation of life; and finally, those that are caused when a single individual or a number of individuals are enjoying themselves in any harmless and lawful way. There are two kinds of reservations to which all these 'Noises' are subject. First, they can only be permitted if they do not come into conflict with the requirements of 'War' or with those of any of the 'Privileged Noises' noted above. Secondly, they can be permitted only so long as they do not fall within the category of the 'Objectionable Noises' noted below. As we shall have occasion to refer to these 'Noises' again, we would give them a specific name and refer to them as 'Tolerable Noises.' And finally, there are all those 'Noises' that cannot be and should not be tolerated at all, except when they fall within the category of either 'War Noises' or 'Privileged Noises'. These 'Noises' are also of five kinds, namely first, those that are caused between, say, 10 P. M. and 6 A. M. when people have a right to enjoy undisturbed sleep;

secondly, those that are made by hawkers, beggars, vehicle drivers, canvassors and advertisers near any place where any student, scholar, author or any other category of mental worker resides or carries on his studies, researches or thinking, reading or writing work; thirdly, those that are caused near or outside any place where mournings for the dead are going on; fourthly, those that are made in the vicinity of hospitals, nursing homes, educational institutions, libraries, reading rooms, public offices and institutions and places where any conferences, lectures or shows are taking place; and finally, those that are made in the vicinity or in front of mosques, temples, churches and other places when any prayers or any social or religious function or ceremony is taking place or going on therein. For purposes of reference, these 'Noises' may be referred to as 'Objectionable Noises.'

Let us now see how we should handle all these different kinds of 'Noises' with a view to solve the particular problem with which we are specially concerned here.

The very first thing that we have to do in

connection with this problem in the light of the above considerations is to draw the attention of both our Hindu and Muslim compatriots to the fact that *neither the desire to make as much 'Noise' as one wants to do nor the desire to have perfect 'Silence' for anything at any time or at all times can have an unrestricted and unconditional scope for its fulfilment.* The 'Fulfilment' of neither of these two desires can, in other words, be treated or allowed to be claimed as an 'Absolute Right' of any community or individual whatsoever. For even the 'Privileged Noises,' as we have already observed, have to be suppressed if necessary, in the light of 'War' requirements. The 'Objectionable Noises,' on the other hand, do not include within their domain the 'War' and the 'Privileged Noises.' Whether one would have 'Noise' or 'Silence' at any time or for any purpose as a matter of 'Right' is consequently a point to be determined wholly in the light of the question as to what kind of 'Noise' is under consideration. Apart from this problem of 'Rights', however, it is always open to an individual or a community to have what he or it wants in this connection either by compromise on the basis of equal 'give and take' or through the courtesy of others by request or as a free gift.

Having made this clear, we may now suggest that the State should at once enact an 'Objectionable Noises Prevention Act' whereby it should make indulgence in any kind of 'Objectionable Noise' a criminal offence punishable in the very first instance with fine and on repetition with simple or rigorous imprisonment. In case, however, the State does not care to pass such a general law, it should at least enact that no 'Noise' unless it belongs to the category of 'War Noise' or any of the 'Privileged Noises'—this exception does not apply to 'Tolerable Noises,'—should be made in the vicinity, say within a hundred yards, or in front of any mosque, temple, church or any other place when any prayer or social or religious function or ceremony is taking place or going on therein. If anybody offends against this rule, he should be at once arrested and severely punished. Those who want 'Silence' for their prayers and other social and religious functions and ceremonies would thus get a legitimate redress against all those kinds of 'Noises' that can and should automatically be stopped on such occasions.

Let us now pass on to the 'War' and the 'Privileged Noises'. As things stand, no relief

can in any way be given to those who want 'Silence' against these two kinds of 'Noises'. If one feels disturbed thereby, one can either do nothing at all or at best find a solution only with the willing consent or co-operation of the other party, if at all. In the case of 'War Noises', no relief can be got in any way whatsoever, for the progress of 'War' cannot be regulated by the consideration that anybody wants 'Silence' for any purpose whatsoever. In the case of 'Privileged Noises', it all depends upon what kind of 'Noise' it is as different categories thereof have wholly different characteristics. In the case of the first category thereof, *i. e.* where any 'Noise' is made by any public servant in the due discharge of his civil duties, only a *request* to lower its *pitch* can be made, if at all, with the possibility of one's getting a 'snub' or a stern negative response! In the case of the second category of these 'Noises', *i. e.* those that are made when mournings for the dead are going on, not even a request to stop them or to lower their 'pitch' can be made without anybody who does so being looked upon as a most uncultured brute! In the case of the third category thereof, *i. e.* those that are made when some kind of 'alarm' has to be raised, not even

a simpleton would think of interfering in any way. And in the case of the last of them, i. e. when they form an *essential* part of the prayers or the social or the religious functions, ceremonies or processions of any community, some way out of the difficulty can only be found with the willing consent or co-operation of the other party, if at all.

Since we are concerned here primarily with the last category of 'Privileged Noises' only, let us now pursue further the little alternative that is alone open in their case. And when we do so, we find that it is quite a fruitful alternative in every way. *For both the 'Hindus' as well as the 'Muslims' have their 'Privileged Noises' and both these sets of 'Noises' also inconvenience the other community in some way!* If both of them can then see their way to make some sort of agreement between themselves to *so modify their respective 'Noises' belonging to this category as to make them as little inconvenient to the other community as possible, this problem would be at once completely solved!* This modification can take either of four different forms; namely, first, that of changing the *routes* of processions or the *places* of prayers, functions or ceremonies with a view to either *shift* the 'Noise'

to some other place or *avoid coming into contact with it* secondly, changing the *timings* of processions, prayers, functions or ceremonies during the course of which the 'Noise' is made or which are disturbed by this category of 'Noises'; thirdly, changing the *pace* of processions, prayers, functions and ceremonies so that the first either do not reach or pass beyond the religious places of the other community before a particular time and the other three are finished in a shorter time than they would have otherwise done; and finally, reducing the *pitch* of the 'Noises' themselves so that they become as inoffensive as possible. With so many different ways of getting out of each controversial situation, given perfect good will and a spirit of equal 'give and take' on both sides, it should not be difficult for the responsible leaders of the two communities to devise some plan of getting out of all difficult situations on this issue. *We, therefore, earnestly appeal to the All-India leaders of both communities to immediately come together in a joint conference and make an All-India settlement on behalf of their respective communities on this issue*, clearly specifying therein how many of the above ways of modifying the existing situations are acceptable to each community, putting forth an elaborate plan of 'modi-<sup>fy</sup>'

fying' the 'routes', 'places', 'timings' or 'paces' of both communities' principal processions, prayers and social and religious functions or reducing the 'pitch' of their 'Noises', if at all, and laying down general rules in the light of which the local leaders and the members of the two communities may solve their minor local difficulties everywhere. As soon as any such settlement is arrived at, the State should forthwith give it legal sanction and make it operative for the whole of India. If no such settlement is or can be arrived at on an All-India basis, the local leaders of both communities everywhere should in that case call such conferences for their own areas and make their own settlements separately. If they do so, the State should give legal sanction to these settlements also and make them operative for those areas only. If even these latter fail to arrive at some settlement, the Central Government should appoint a 'Board' of its own which should be instructed to lay down general rules in accordance with which the local authorities may conduct themselves and solve all controversies that may arise on this issue. Whatever rules this 'Board' lays down must then be strictly and faithfully observed by all local authorities. Whenever any

procession of either community is about to pass or any social or religious function or ceremony is going to take place anywhere, these authorities should send a batch of fully armed policemen and detectives to keep watch on all the mosques or the temples of the other community, as the case may be, on its route or in that locality and see that these rules are strictly observed in actual practice. It is duty of the Police authorities to also keep a strict eye on all mosques and temples on all such occasions in order to find out if any conspiracy or preparation is being made therein against the other community and if so, to at once stop it and prosecute the mischief-makers. If any mosque or temple regularly becomes the centre of such conspiracies, *the State should forthwith close it to 'Mass worship', allowing only a single 'Molvi' or 'Pundit' to conduct the routine type of prayers therein in order to preserve its sanctity*, till the authorities thereof give a promise in writing that they would never again allow it to be mis-used in that way at all!

And finally, we may suggest that nobody should in future erect or be allowed to erect new mosque or temple on those high which the religious p ~~on~~ ions of the

and the 'Muslims' respectively generally pass or in the neighbourhood of any existing temple or mosque or some place of amusement or in *purely* 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' localities, so that no additional source of communal trouble may be added to those that already exist.

If all the above precepts would be fully carried out by the State as well as by both our 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' compatriots, it may be hoped that the whole of this problem would soon be solved in all its aspects and would no longer create any difficulties or lead to any complications whatsoever.

## (2) The Problem of Cow-Slaughter

We would next deal with the problem of Cow-Slaughter.

As we have already pointed out in a previous chapter, abstention from cow-killing and beef-eating is an *essential* part of 'Hindu Dharma'. This injunction of that 'Dharma' is based on moral and humanitarian as well as on economic grounds. For India is an agricultural country and requires an ever-continuing and steady supply of bullocks whose number must decrease

if cows are at all slaughtered. Besides this, the cow is a milch-cattle and it is only amongst barbarous and uncivilised people that the slaughter of milch-cattle is tolerated or allowed. "We read of tribes of savages" writes Prof. P. Wicksteed, one of the greatest economists of modern times, "who so little realise the future that, however little their experience of want may be, they cannot be induced to lay in any kind of stores..... still less can the mind at a low stage of reflectiveness realise the value of a revenue. A savage tribe might be capable of storing food and yet be incapable of maintaining a herd of cattle. They might be able to realise that famine a month hence was worth averting by some exertion or some degree of restraint exercised today, and yet they might not be able to grasp the subtler idea that by abstaining from eating up a herd of cattle that they had captured, they might obtain a permanent revenue of milk and calves. The same Australian black-fellow who took great pains and made great efforts to make a bottle of milk last a kitten, that he had in charge, over a journey of a hundred miles, pronounced the white man in general 'big fellow fool' because he did not kill

his herd of cattle and have a feast with his friends. ("Commonsense of Political Economy", 1910 Edition, P. 305-6). His Excellency, Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy of India, has also recently given expression to the same views in equally emphatic terms and with special reference to India. "Cattle are in a real sense" said he, "the basis of India's economy and the deep and traditional reverence paid to them by so many millions throughout this country has a very real and solid basis." "In this immense agricultural country" continued he, "which feeds the largest population in the whole world, almost every seed that germinates owes its debt to the work of cattle in ploughing up the soil and almost every grain that is carried to the markets to feed the great urban populations is carried there by bullock transport. The health of every child, and not only the health but to a very large extent the intelligence of every child, and so the whole physical standard of India's millions depends largely on the quality and amount of milk available for children to drink." [His Excellency, Lord Linlithgow's Address at the Annual General Meeting of the All-India Cattle Show Society at the Viceroy's House, vide "The Hindustan

Times," (New Delhi), September 3, 1943, P. 4].

Let our 'Muslim', 'Christian,' 'Parsee' and 'Jew' compatriots seriously ponder at these words! Is it not a matter of great humiliation for all of us that while some of our countrymen make beef a regular part of their menus, not only 'Hindu' but also 'Muslim,' 'Christian,' 'Parsee' and 'Jew' men, women, students, invalids and children find it impossible to get any pure milk, 'ghee,' butter, curd or cream anywhere in the market even at exorbitant prices and have consequently to remain content with all kinds of adulterated stuffs or have to fall back upon 'Banaspati' or vegetable products? If this is not barbarity of the grossest type, what else is it? This sort of thing must consequently at once stop! We know that 'Islam' does not prohibit the slaughter of cows as the 'Hindu Dharma' does. It does not, however, at the same time *enjoin* cow-slaughter at any occasion whatsoever. The 'Bakra-Id' festival requires the sacrifice of 'Bakras' or 'goats,' not of 'cows.' According to the 'Holy Quran,' the latter *may* also be sacrificed if the Muslims 'so desire'. Some of our 'Muslim' compatriots consequently *do* desire sacrifice 'cows' on the 'Bakra-Id' day. It may

all very unfortunate from the point of view of the 'Hindus' and the whole country but the fact is as it stands.

There is no reason, however, why these people should be allowed to stand in the way of a salutary reform or should not even be compromised with. Where any alleged 'Religious' injunction or requirement is obviously against 'public welfare,' the same rule of 'Public Morality' can be applied against it as was done in the suppression of the 'Suttee System' But we do not believe in coercion where religious sentiments are involved. We, therefore, suggest that in order to prevent any body from rightly or wrongly raising the cry of 'Islam' being in danger, an exception may be made for the 'Muslims' permitting them to Slaughter 'Cows' on the 'Bakra-Id' day alone, if they so desire, while prohibiting the slaughter of cows in the whole of India in general. Let the Government or the Central Legislatures, therefore, at once enact what we may refer to as the 'Cow-Slaughter Prevention Act,' as has already been done by some of the Indian States, making it a criminal offence for anybody to slaughter cows *except by those Muslims who want to do so on the 'Bakra-Id'*

*day alone*, provided they do not take out the cows that are meant to be so slaughtered in procession or parade them in any other way in the public streets either before or on that day! Side by side with this, let the 'Hindus' and all other well-wishers of the country start a vigorous programme of 'Muslim Mass Contact' on this issue, along with many others, and succeed, if they can, in altogether stopping cow-slaughter by the 'Muslims' even on that day by means of moral and friendly persuasion. If any 'Muslim' even then persists in sacrificing a cow on that day, let all 'Hindus' and such other 'Muslims' as see the unreasonableness of the course, cooperate and *so arrange things that the party concerned may not get a cow from anybody in the market on any price and may, therefore, be compelled to use his knife on that very cow, if he has any, in his household that had hitherto been nourishing him and his wife and children with her milk!* Perchance his sleeping conscience may then get awakened and he may realise that after all there was something really very wrong in his previous mode of thinking and interpreting the injunctions of his religion !

So far then as the cry of 'Muslim Reli Danger' is concerned. As a matter of fa

ever, this is only the more vocal side of the whole affair. More surely and silently and in a thousandfold greater quantity is 'beef' being eaten every day by our 'aristocrats' of all categories, including some new types of 'ultra-modern' Hindus! It is these worthies who very often play the strings of the 'Islam in Danger' cry from behind the scenes! It is for their 'luxury,' and not for the 'protection' of 'Islam', that our thousands of 'slaughter-houses' are turning out tons and tons of 'beef' every day! All this should at once be put an end to by law, whether these worthies like it or not! They can have plenty of other kinds of meat, if they like, or they can even enjoy 'imported beef' in tinned pots from foreign countries. But they should no longer be allowed to have cows slaughtered in India at least for their sake. If a 'Cow-slaughter Prevention Act' is passed, it is all right. Otherwise and till that is done, the Hindus and such 'Muslims' and other 'Non-Hindus' as may like to cooperate should set up an organization in every town or district of India under the name of the 'Cow Protection Society' which should undertake to buy all cows, bullocks and calves from whosoever wants to sell them at standard

prices, raising the money required to pose by public subscription till these can be run on a purely commercial basis. All those people who want to sell these cattle will easily be able to dispose them off. If the cattle-house agents' offer slightly or greatly exceed the prices, an appeal should be made to the religious and the social spirits of these owners and together with the fear of losing grace with their relatives, friends and neighbours, would in most cases prevent them from being lured away thereby. In case, however, none of these things prove effective, some public spirited citizens ought to be forthcoming who would offer to outbid these agents and thereby prevent these cattle from being transferred to the latter even in those exceptional cases! *If the 'Hindus' have any self-respect, they ought to be able to see that no 'Cow,'—we are not concerned with other animals here,—is ever again allowed to go to the slaughter-houses at any cost or under any conditions whatsoever!* For with the 'Cow' we live as a nation—without her we fall! And the sooner this thing is realised by all of us, the better it is not only for our own people but also for our 'Muslim,' 'Christian,' 'Parsee' and 'Jew' compatriots!

eve<sup>1</sup>) The Problem of Idol-Worshipping *vs.* Idol-Breaking.

th We may next take up the problem of 'Idol-worshipping' *vs.* 'Idol-breaking.'

It may be observed in this connection that the worship of 'Idols' is an integral and essential part of the 'Religion' of many sects amongst the 'Hindus' and those who worship them can never allow them to be defiled, demolished or broken in any way. *Nor has anybody any right to break anybody else's 'Idols', whatever one may do with one's own!* The injunction in the Holy Quran for the 'Muslims' to break 'Idols' has a historical background and must be understood in that light alone. The 'Idols' which the 'Arabs' and the 'Egyptians' of the time of 'Hazrat Mohammad Sahib', (Peace be on him), worshipped were practically *so many lumps of clay, as it were, and had no 'Ideal' or 'Personality' in their background at all!* To worship such 'Idols' was and is really 'Kufr' or the 'Denial of God.'! The Holy Prophet, therefore, called upon his followers to break their own 'Idols' and throw them on the scrap-heap before they could realise the true 'God.'! Those who refused to listen to such a sound advice must have

been really perverse! What could regard to the worshippers of the clay' except that 'God' Himself had ears and weakend their brains as He had them for 'Hell-fire'? Even then the 'H~~u~~phet' was prepared to leave them alone to their own follies in their own way. But 'Kafirs' of Arabia were not only perverse—they were actually cowards! They made it their regular business to play with the heads of the 'Muslims' while they were actually engaged in their prayers! What else could the Holy Prophet do under these circumstances but to call upon his own followers also to "slay" these "infidels," when the "sacred months" were passed, "wherever they could find them," and to break their meaningless 'Images' and 'Idols' by way of 'retaliation' at all times?

But the 'Idols' of the 'Hindus' are not the same things as the 'Idols' of the ancient Arabs and the Egyptians nor do the 'Hindus' go about "playing with the heads" of the 'Muslims' while they are engaged in their prayers! The 'Hindu Idols' are all so many visible representations of the 'Almighty God' and His various "Avatars" which were generally

even' sediments of highly developed 'Personalities' and the manifold 'Idols' which they had actually translated into their own lives! To worship these 'Idols' was not only to worship the 'Almighty God' whose visible representation they were but also to imbibe and cultivate in one's own self, at the same time, all those elements of 'Personality' and all those 'Ideals' that were embodied therein. Let our 'Muslim' compatriots clearly understand this! Have they read the 'Ramayana'? If they have not, let them do so at once. Let them then go to any temple of Bhagwan Sri Ram Chandra with a sword in their hand and we bet that when they would see the image of the 'Patit-Pawan' before them, when they would behold 'Mother Sita' seated beside Him, when they would look at "Sri Lakshman", "Sri Bharat" and "Sri Hanuman" standing before them in actual form, as it were, tears of love would automatically rush to their eyes, their hearts would begin to beat with violent emotion, their hands would tremble, the sword would automatically drop therefrom and they would rush and fall down at the feet of these 'Idols,' crying 'Oh' 'Patit-Pawan', 'Mother Sita', adorable 'Lakshman', self-effacing 'Bharat', and lovable 'Hanuman'—how can I attack you? I am

seeing in you all those sublime 'Personalities' and 'Ideals' of the sacred 'Ramayana' that I had just been reading about, come back to life 'in actual form!' Let them then read the 'Bhagwat', the 'Mahabharata' and the 'Gita' and go to any temple of Lord 'Sri Krishna' and if they do not actually begin to dance before that wonderful flute-magician when they see Him before them, if they do not forget their very existence and are not filled with the same ecstacy and love as every one of His devotees at present is, we would simply feel stunned! All the above-mentioned names, however, are those to conjure with! Whosoever knows anything about them always receives a most pleasant sensation at the very mention thereof! But the same thing applies to a greater or less extent to almost all the other 'Hindu' Gods and Goddesses and their 'Idols'. The two most ghastly and terrifying 'Hindu Idols' are those of 'Sri Kali' and 'Sri Narsingh'. But when one comes to know what this 'Kali' really stands for, what a high 'Ideal' of female purity, chastity and prowess is embodied in Her, what a lofty message she has to convey to the fair sex in general and how much inspiration and strength the very sight of her 'Image' or ~~it~~

gives to those who can see the 'Spirit' behind the 'Form',—one would feel like adoring her rather than defiling her 'Idols' in any way ! And about 'Sri Narsingh',—well, we have oft and on told our 'Muslim' friends what this apparently ludicrous figure really means; how by taking this 'Avatar' or by imagining its existence, God Himself or the Aryan Rishies had shewn how Omnipotent, Omni-present and Omni-scient He is; how the very sight of 'Sri Narsingh's Idol reminds one of all the above-mentioned attributes of the 'Almighty', and have then asked them if they would still like to demolish such a beautiful 'Idea'—only those who 'cannot see' can regard it an 'Idol',—receiving the same reply always:—'No' !

It is a pity, however, that our 'Muslim' compatriots know so little about our religion and Gods and Goddesses and our 'Hindu' brethren also do not make much effort to let them know about all these things in detail. Let the former, therefore, try to know something more about the beauties of our religion, and let the latter also help the former in this direction as much as they can and much of the evil that so frequently arises

in this connection at present would soon cease to exist.

But whether all our 'Muslim' compatriots learn to look at things in their true perspective or not, it is the duty of the State to always at once arrest those who break other people's 'Idols' or even do something to their own with a view to injure the feelings of others and give them some exemplary punishment. It is the duty of all right-thinking persons of all communities, moreover, to help the Government in the successful prosecution of these people and instead of exalting them and treating them as heroes, to openly condemn them so that others may be discouraged from following in their footsteps as far as possible.

**(4) The Problems of 'Shabe-barat' Fire-Works and 'Holi' Water.**

We would now consider the problems of 'Shabe-barat' fire-works and 'Holi' water.

Taking 'Shabe-barat' fire-works first, we may note that there can be no objection to anybody against the use by the 'Muslims' of those fire-works that do not 'fly' or 'run about' in any

way. The whole trouble is caused by those fire-works that do 'fly' or 'run about' on all sides. Our 'Muslim' compatriots would, therefore, do well to take note of this distinction and use the former kind of fire-works only on that as well as on all other occasions. It is the duty of the State also to immediately enact a law making it a criminal offence for anybody to make, sell, exhibit or use the latter kind of fire-works—making this 'law' applicable to all communities and to all occasions equally, thus covering the 'Shabe-barat' fire-works of that category of the 'Muslims' as well as similar fire-works of the 'Hindus' which they use on 'Diwali,' marriages and other occasions. Over and above this, those who cause any kind of injury to others by the use of these fire-works at any time should be made to pay full compensation therefor to the latter, whether they do so on the 'Shabe-barat' day or on any other occasion whatsoever.

Passing on next to 'Holi' water, we may note that when all the 'Indian 'Muslims' would have joined the new 'Samajes' that we have proposed to be created above, the problem that at present so frequently arises in this connection would

automatically come to an end, as they would then all freely take part in the 'Holi' festival, like every other 'Hindu'. Till that stage comes, however, every 'Indian Muslim'—as well as every other 'Non-Hindu,'—has a right to go about on public roads without having his clothes spoilt in any way on all occasions. The 'Hindus' would, therefore, do well to always play 'Holi' and instruct their children also to do so in such a way that the clothes or the person of any 'Muslim' or any other 'Non-Hindu' are not spoilt in any way. If, however, any 'Hindu' or his children fail to act in that way, through negligence or oversight, he on his own behalf or on that of the latter, should always at once tender his apologies to the injured party and also take care to see that the offence is not committed again under any conditions or circumstances whatsoever. While we say this to the 'Hindus', we may be allowed to respectfully point out to our 'Muslim' and other 'Non-Hindu' compatriots that we have always thought more highly of those of them that silently pass over any untoward incident that might perchance happen to them on such occasions than of those who at once create a 'scene' as soon as any such thing happens

and send all sorts of scolding and even abusive letters to the press against the 'Hindus' because a few drops of coloured water—the strains of which can be removed in a single wash,—have fallen on their clothes or person on the occasion of a harmless social festival in which twenty-five crores of their fellow countrymen are taking part and in which they also could freely join if they did not regard themselves as being so much more 'civilised' and 'cultured'! We hope, therefore, that our 'Non-Hindu' brethren would shed their 'superiority complex' and see if they can 'smile' instead of getting bitter at such petty encroachments on their 'liberties' and adopt a more accommodating attitude on this issue.

**(5) The Problems arising out of the Cutting off of Sacred Trees and the Polluting of Sacred Waters.**

Let us now take the problems arising out of the cutting off of sacred trees such as 'Barh' or 'Peepal' and the polluting of sacred waters.

Taking the problem of the 'Sacred Trees' first, we may note that this question generally arises when these trees so far outgrow themselves that the Muslim 'Tazias' cannot

conveniently pass on the adjacent roads. If the 'Tazias' are of the usual and normal heights, they evidently have a right to pass on their way unobstructed. In order to give them this free passage, however, it is not at all necessary to 'cut off' the over-growths of these sacred trees, for they can in most cases be easily 'roped off' or raised up or turned in other directions by means of strong ropes or wires. It is the duty of the State, therefore, to get this done a few days before the 'Tazias' are to be taken out throughout the whole course of their routes. If the Government does not care to do so, either the 'Hindus' or the 'Muslims' or both of them jointly should try to get this done through some of their own men or at their own expense.

Taking next the problem of preventing the pollution of the water of the Ganges, the Jamuna and other rivers, tanks and wells, we may note that a general law should immediately be passed by the State making it a criminal offence not only for the 'Muslims' but also for the 'Hindus' and all others to pollute these waters in any way. The waters of the Ganges and the Jamuna require to be specially protected and kept unpolluted.

throughout their whole course. In this connection, we may suggest that a big 'Ganges-Jamuna Anti-Pollution Project' should at once be launched in accordance with which, first, all drains and other dirty streams that at present fall into them should be directed into other directions; secondly, no new drain should under any circumstances be allowed to fall into them; thirdly, nobody should be allowed to throw any bones, ashes or corpses therein at all; fourthly, nobody should be allowed to wash animals, clothes or dirty utensils therein; fifthly, nobody should be allowed to spit or clean his mouth or nose therein; sixthly, nobody should be allowed to take bath therein with dirty clothes or with soap, oil or curd; seventhly, nobody should be allowed to put dirty jars or leather buckets into them in order to draw water therefrom; and finally, nobody should be allowed to put nets therein in order to catch fish or to shoot, torment or kill any harmless animal therein. Similar projects with regard to other rivers may gradually be adopted as circumstances permit. Tanks and pools can then be dealt with on almost the same lines as the above. Wells, however, stand on a slightly different footing. In our opinion, they

should all be covered and a hand-pipe put above them so that everybody can freely use them without polluting their water in any way. If this is deemed inadvisable or difficult for any reason, then the Municipal Boards should appoint 'Kahars' in 'Hindu' and 'mixed' localities and 'Bhishties' in purely 'Muslim' localities to draw water from all wells and give it to others and nobody else should then be permitted to draw water therefrom. If the Municipal Boards do not do this, the inhabitants of each locality can act in this way if they think proper. In case, however, even this course is not adopted, then at least the State should immediately pass a law prohibiting everybody from drawing water in 'leather buckets' from wells in purely 'Hindu' and 'mixed' localities, as the right of the 'Hindus' to have their drinking water unpolluted in that way is thereby seriously encroached upon and since those who use these 'leather buckets' are generally 'Muslims,' it creates a lot of silent resentment in the minds of the former against the latter and even sometimes leads to open quarrels and the relations between the two communities are thus unnecessarily embittered.

(6) The Problem of 'Impure' or 'Objectionable' Things being Brought into Contact with a Community.

'Let us now take the problem which arises when those things that are regarded as 'impure' or 'objectionable' by the members of one community are brought into contact with them by the members of the other community in some way, as happens when smoking is done before the Sikhs or cows' or pigs' flesh is thrown in temples or mosques or is otherwise brought into contact with the 'Hindus' and the 'Muslims' respectively.'

Now there are two ways in which those things that are regarded as 'impure' or 'objectionable' by the members of one community can be brought into contact with them by those of the other, namely, first, when the latter are using them in the normal course of their lives and the former are brought into contact with them by mere *accident*; and secondly, when the latter *deliberately* try to or actually bring them into contact with the former or throw them in their midst. In the first of these two cases, the party using these things commits no offence whatsoever

and it is the duty of the other party when it is brought into contact with these things to either remove itself to some other place or to first request the former not to use them in its presence and if that request is not granted, to then shift to some other place or avoid coming into contact therewith in some other peaceful way. In the second case, the party which *deliberately* tries to bring or actually brings these things into contact with the members of the other community or throws them in their midst or in the midst of those things that belong thereto or those places which they regard as sacred in any way, is clearly trying to embitter communal feelings and relations and should, therefore, be immediately arrested and punished.

(7) The Problem arising out of the Use of Insulting Epithets.

And finally, with regard to the problem which arises when some insulting Epithets—such as 'Kafir', 'Baqqal', 'Maleksh' or 'Patit',—are used by the members of one community for those of the other, we may simply note that the use of all these terms by anybody for others should be made an offence and those who are guilty of it

be first asked to apologise to the aggrieved party and if they refuse to do so, they should be criminally prosecuted and severely punished.

This finishes our study of how all kinds of 'Communal Issues' that might arise between the members of the two communities can be prevented or controlled in the best possible way. If all the proposals that we have made above are fully carried out, 'Indian Nationalism,' as we have already pointed out, would in the long run be able to attain almost the same results as can be attained through what we have referred to as 'Hindu Indian Nationalism'. Our compatriots may, therefore, choose any of these alternatives that they may like or which appeals to them better. We hope, however, that they would make their choice in favour of 'Hindu Indian Nationalism' which in our view is *the only ideal, solid and permanent 'Nationalism' that India can have* and which alone can consequently provide a real and final solution of the whole communal problem of India in all its aspects, as we have already pointed out above.

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## **Chapter VII. Controlling the Causes of 'Personal Issues.'**

We would now pass on to consider, in accordance with the plan already chalked out in the third chapter, how the causes of all kinds of 'Personal Issues' that arise between the members of the two communities may be controlled so that the number of these 'Issues' and the frequency with which they arise may be reduced as much as possible.

Now the 'Causes' of all 'Personal Issues' that arise between the members of the two communities are generally those that create disputes between two or more members of the same community also. The removal of the 'Causes' of these 'Issues' is thus not a 'Communal' but a 'Social' problem. In general, all kinds of 'Personal' disputes between two or more individuals belonging to the same community or to different communities are due to bad manners, lack of proper courtesy, evil habits, negligence, tortuous and criminal tendencies, social and economic disharmonies and legal complicati-

In order, therefore, that the number of these disputes may decrease, all parents and teachers should take special pains to see that their wards and pupils are so trained in their homes and schools that they may always acquire and show good manners, proper courtesy, good habits and sufficient care while dealing with others and specially with members of other communities and may also refrain from committing any 'torts' or 'crimes'. An attempt should at the same time be made to remove the causes of all social and economic disharmonies that may be existing in society and to remove all kinds of legal complications as much as possible. If all these things are done, the number of all kinds of personal disputes that ever arise in society would automatically decrease and along with them those that arise between the members of the two communities also.

If inspite of all this, however, any 'Personal Issue' ever does arise between the members of the two communities, we suggest it to all our compatriots of both communities to always *throw it out for decision before a general group of the members of their opponent's community without giving it the least communal*

colour or tone and we gaurantee that in almost every case they would get proper justice and full satisfaction therefrom in every way! We further request all our 'Hindu' and 'Non-Hindu' brothern not to blindly support any member of their own community in any 'Personal Issue' that might arise between him and the members of the other community but to always try to settle such disputes purely on their own merits, for that is the only way in which they can be prevented from leading to any further complications whatsoever. They should, moreover, try to get these disputes settled as soon as possible, for the longer the time they take in being brought to an end, the greater the risk of their leading to a 'Riot'. If necessary, the disputants may even be told of this risk and in case any of them appears inclined to treat the other party at all unfairly or unjustly, the former should be further reminded that any such injustice or unfairness is likely to lead the latter's whole community to retaliate *en masse* in its favour as soon as it comes to know of it. If even a realisation of both these things fails to bring about a quick and a fair settlement between the parties to the 'Personal Issue' in question, the members of the two communities should

compel them to refer it for decision to the 'Board for the Settlement of Communal Disputes' which we would propose to be set up in the next chapter or to go to a court of law. In no case, however, should these parties be allowed to fight in public over that 'Issue' and if they persist in so doing, the members of both the communities that may be present on the spot should immediately take and hand them over to the Police on a charge of trying to create a 'Breach of the Peace' and get them prosecuted for the same, without trying to even subsequently support them or extend to them their help or co-operation in any way.

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## Chapter VIII. The Machinery for the Settlement of Communal Disputes.

Let us now see how, if inspite of all efforts to prevent or control the 'Causes' of all kinds of 'Communal' and 'Personal Issues,' these "Issues" still sometimes arise, they should be settled before they lead to any further trouble.

Now the very first thing that should be done as soon as any 'Communal' or 'Personal' Issue arises between the two communities or their members is that their leaders or they themselves in each case should try to meet together in a private conference or meeting and arrive at some amicable settlement or compromise thereupon. If any of these leaders or parties are found to be extremely rude, unfair or unscrupulous, the leaders of the other community or the other party should expose them or put the whole matter before the former's co-religionists and in most cases, these people would be found to adopt quite an impartial attitude and bring pressure to bear upon those leaders or those ~~to~~ make them adopt a more reasonable attit

'Communal' and 'Personal' Issues would thus be settled in an amicable way through these private conferences or meetings.

There would, however, be some cases where it would not be possible to hold these conferences or meetings at all for some reason or where they would not succeed. Some other machinery for the settlement of all kinds of 'Communal' and 'Personal' Issues would then be required and should consequently be devised. We, therefore, suggest that the State should at once set up what we may refer to as a 'Board for the Settlement of Communal Disputes' for each district separately. These 'Boards' should be reconstituted every year afresh, though there should be no objection to any or all of their members being returned thereto year after year any number of times. They should in our view consist of five members, two of whom should be 'Hindus' and two 'Muslims'—all these four members being *elected* by a *joint franchise* of *all* adult 'Hindus' and 'Muslims' of the district,—and the fifth one should be some individual whom all the four members referred to above may *unanimously* elect from any community or group they like and if

they cannot do so, he should be nominated by the State from amongst the members of some third community. All these five members may then elect one of their own selves as the 'President' of the Board who would manage all its affairs and conduct its business.

Now the procedure that should be followed in utilising the services of these 'Board' may be described as follows. As soon as any 'Communal' or 'Personal' Issue arises between the two communities or their members and cannot be amicably settled through any private conference or meeting, it should be made the *legal* duty of the leaders of both the communities in the case of 'Communal Issues' and of the parties themselves in the case of 'Personal Issues' to at once file a report at the nearest Police Station and also inform the district authorities in detail of what had happened. In the case of 'Communal Issues,' the civil authorities, as soon as they come to know about them, should either themselves decide them or refer them *at State expense* either to the 'Law-Courts' or to the 'Board for the Settlement of Communal Disputes' as they may deem fit. In the case of the 'Personal Issues', on the other hand, the civil

authorities should first ask the parties to make some compromise amongst themselves and if this cannot be or is not done, they should order these 'Issues' to be referred to the 'Law-Courts' or to the above-mentioned 'Boards' at the expense of the parties themselves or at State expense, if this is deemed advisable for any reason whatsoever. If these 'Issues' are referred to the Law-Courts, it would be the duty of the latter to first give precedence to those of them that are 'Communal' and after that, to those that are 'Personal', over all other cases and decide both of them as soon as possible. It would similarly be the duty of the above-mentioned 'Boards' to give precedence to the 'Communal Issues' over the 'Personal' ones and to submit their proposals and reports to the district authorities on both of them as soon as possible. If the decision of the lower courts is found to be unacceptable to either or both the parties, they can take the matter to the higher courts. Similarly, if the proposals and the decisions of the said 'Boards' are found to be unacceptable to either the district authorities or to any of the parties, the matter should finally be referred either to the Central Government or to the Law-Courts for decision. Though thus these 'Boards' would not

be the sole authorities in any matter, it may be hoped that their members would so conduct themselves that their prestige would increase from day to day and they would ultimately prove themselves to be really useful and serviceable institutions in every way.

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## Chapter IX. How to Control the 'Fighting Urges' ?

We would now proceed to study how the second set of factors that must exist before the 'Hindu-Muslim Riots' can take place, namely, the 'Fighting Urges,' can be controlled in the best possible way. These 'Fighting Urges,' as we have already pointed out in a previous chapter, are those forces which *either of their own accord or after having been excited by some External Stimuli* make people fight and create 'Riots' whenever any 'Communal' or 'Personal' Issue arises between the two communities or some of their members, instead of trying to settle those 'Issues' in some peaceful way. The chief of these 'Fighting Urges', as we have already enumerated them, are the 'Consciousness of Superior Communal Force,' 'Excessive Hatred or Hostility towards the other Community or Excessive Love for one own Community,' 'Passion', the 'Spirit of Pugnacity,' 'Aggressiveness,' 'Hot-headedness,' the 'Feeling of Jealousy,' the 'Spirit of Revengefulness,' the 'Spirit of Predatoriness' and the

‘Spirit of Lawlessness.’ We would study how each one of these ‘Fighting Urgess’ can best be controlled separately below.

(1) The Consciousness of Superior Communal Force.

The ‘Consciousness of Superior Communal Force’ is an extremely dangerous type of ‘Fighting Urge’ as it makes those who possess it almost always take to violence as soon as any ‘Communal’ or ‘Personal’ Issue arises, in the hope of settling it wholly in their favour in that way, which may not be always possible if they try to settle it in some peaceful way. The only cure of this malady is that the cowed-down community should organise itself to such an extent that the ‘bullies’ may be forced to revise their views with regard to their own community’s superior force. If the number of the cowed-down community anywhere is so small that it can never become a match to the other community even if it is fully organised, then the State should allow its members to wear special arms for their self-defence and wholly disarm the bully community. Besides this, whenever the members of the bully community resort to violence in this way,

they should be given such an exemplary punishment that nobody may ever again dare to act in that way at all! If all these measures fail, then the leaders of the cowed-down community should enter upon an elaborate plan of systematically shifting the weaker members of that community to safer areas and persuading stronger members of that community to settle down therein in as large a number as possible. It is the duty of the State also in that case to help in this plan to as great an extent as possible and in whatever way it can, for this is the only way in which a community which has an over-whelming majority in any area can be prevented from lording it over the other community or even actually driving it out of that area for good!

**(2) Excessive Hatred or Hostility towards the other Community or Excessive Love for one's own Community.**

The 'Fighting Urge' of 'Excessive Hatred or Hostility towards the other Community or Excessive Love for one's own Community' is wholly the outcome of the 'Spirit of Communalism.' We have already suggested a cure for that 'Spirit' in a previous chapter and if all our suggestions in that connection are carried out, both that

'Spirit' as well as the particular 'Fighting Urge' to which it gives rise would automatically come to an end.

(3) 'Passion'.

The 'Fighting Urge' of 'Passion' is wholly the outcome of one's 'Acquired Passionate Conscious Nature' which depends on many factors, the chief of which are '*Rajsic*' or 'Passion-creating' foods and drinks, such as meat and wine and other intoxicating drugs. It is the duty of the State, therefore, to completely prohibit the use of these things or at least put a very high tax on their productoin and consumption so that both these things may be discouraged as much as possible and the chief causes of people's 'Passions' may be stopped at their very source.

(4) 'Pugnacity'.

The 'Fighting Urge' of 'Pugnacity' makes those who possess it fight with the members of the other community *because it is in their nature to do so*. Much of this 'nature' is acquired through wrong training and habits. It is the duty of all parents and teachers, therefore, to discourage all manifestations thereof in their wards and pupils

as much as possible and find healthy outlets for its 'expression' in the case of those of them who acquire it inspite of all precautions, by encouraging them to take part in, and organising for that purpose, regulars ports, tournaments, boxing contests and wrestling matches, without making them 'Communal' in any way or allowing them to assume a 'Communal' form. It is the duty of the Police also to keep an eye on all those individuals who are known to be specially 'pugnacious' and politely or, if necessary, forcibly prevent them from going to, or if already present, take them away from the scene of trouble as soon as any 'Communal' or 'Personal' Issue arises anywhere in their neighbourhood.

#### (5) 'Aggressiveness'.

The 'Fighting Urge' of 'Aggressiveness', like the first one mentioned above, generally thrives on the weaknesses of others. It is the duty of all individuals, therefore, to make themselves so strong personally that nobody may ever be able to behave aggressively towards them in any way. An 'aggressor' *has* to be resisted and the best way of dealing with him is not to fight with him—for that would certainly lead to a riot,—but to

arrest him, with the help of others, if necessary, as soon as he strikes the first blow and make a present of him to the local Police so that they may give him a few lessons in the art of 'Humility' at public expense !

(6) 'Hot-headedness'

The sixth 'Fighting Urge' is that of 'Hot-headedness'. The best way in which this 'Urge' can be controlled is by putting those who possess it for some time behind the prison-bars. It is the duty of the Police, therefore, to at once arrest all those people of both communities, as soon as any 'Communal' or 'Personal Issue' arises, who show special 'hot-headedness' on that occasion and keep them behind those 'bars' till the whole trouble has finally subsided !

(7) 'Jealousy'.

The 'Fighting Urge' of 'Jealousy' is the outcome of pure folly. Those who are the victims thereof should clearly understand that if the members of the other community have greater wealth or incomes or possess greater earning capacity or are more intelligent, able or smart than themselves, instead of fighting with them

out of 'jealousy', the former would profit more if they go to the latter and politely ask them as to what it is that makes them a greater success in life and then follow in their footsteps as far as possible! After all, what makes individuals and communities prosperous over a long period of time is not merely or even mainly the possession of so much '*wealth*', as *the art of creating more wealth* and this art can obviously be learnt better by going to and sitting at the feet of those who know it more than one's own self than by taking up a stick and beating them to death!

#### (8) 'Revengefulness.'

'Revengefulness' is, perhaps, the most 'justifiable' type of 'Fighting Urge,' though still not a very good thing in itself. Even the noblest of us very often want or like to take 'revenge' on those who have wronged us in any way. But it is still a bad thing because it makes one do an evil deed in return for somebody else's evil deed and also because it means a never-ending chain of revenge and counter-revenge which would certainly put one in greater difficulties and create more trouble for one's own self as this process

continues further. Instead of trying to take 'revenge' on one's persecutors, therefore, by fighting with them, we suggest that one should watch the latter's lives from a distance and if they ever fall into a difficulty or a situation out of which they do not know how to get out and their best friends have also forsaken them, one should go to them and say:—'I have come to befriend you!—Here is my revenge!' That is the only kind of 'revenge' which is at all worth while; every other category thereof is simply a degradation and an evil which decent men should not even think of indulging in under any circumstances whatsoever!

#### (9) 'Predatoriness'.

The 'Fighting Urge' of Predatoriness is an evil whose causes are economic as well as ethical. The present gross inequalities in the distribution of 'wealth', with very vast fortunes on one side and dire poverty on the other, place quite a large number of people of both or rather all communities into a position where they have literally 'nothing to lose but their chains' and feel greatly hurt and unjustly treated. This by itself would not, however, make them take to 'looting'. No

decent person, however hard pressed he may be, would ever even think of adopting that course. Only those people who have no moral training or scruples would degrade themselves in that way. Two things are, therefore, necessary in this connection. In the first place, an attempt should be made to reduce the present inequalities in the 'Distribution' of 'Wealth' and 'Incomes' as much as possible in accordance with the proposals that we have made with regard thereto in our 'Science of Economics'. And in the second place, all 'predatory' tendencies in individuals, wherever they manifest themselves, should be severely repressed and discouraged so that the moral degradation and the social chaos that is bound to take place or follow if they become at all prevalent may be avoided or prevented as far as possible.

#### (10) 'Lawlessness.'

The tenth and last 'Fighting Urge' is provided by the spirit of 'Lawlessness' which makes those who possess it begin to indiscriminately assault the members of the other community out of this spirit as soon as any 'Communal' or 'Personal' Issue arises between the two communities

or their members. Since this is a purely criminal tendency, the only two ways in which it can be controlled are, first, giving every individual the right type of education with regard to his duties; and secondly, giving a very severe punishment to those who give vent to this spirit in any way. In order to attain both these results, the State should, in the first place, devise a regular system of *mass education* in some form so that every individual may acquire some 'civic' sense at least; and secondly, award the maximum punishment of the Law to those who take to 'Lawlessness' in the face of some impending or threatening 'Communal' or 'Personal' Issue, without any compassion or reserve whatsoever!

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## Chapter X. How to Prevent the 'Incitements'?

Let us now see how the 'Incitements' can be prevented, avoided or rendered useless.' These 'Incitements,' as we have already pointed out, consist of those 'Internal' or 'External' Stimuli which *put* the 'Fighting Urges' *into operation or excite* them and thus actually set the 'Riots' afoot. The 'Internal' Stimuli which act as 'Incitements' are provided by the 'Fighting Urges' themselves, if their '*minimum potency*' is such that they can *automatically* lead those individuals that possess them to go about violently attacking the members of the other community as soon as any 'Communal' or 'Personal' Issue arises between the two communities or their members. The 'External' Stimuli, on the other hand, that act as 'Incitements' consist of those factors that '*heighten*' the '*potency*' of the 'Fighting Urges' of different individuals to such an extent as to place them on that '*minimum*' level of their intensity where those individuals would ultimately break out into open violence. In order, therefore, to be able to prevent all kinds of 'Incitements,' we

must so control the whole situation that either both these kinds of Stimuli may completely cease to exist or those individuals on whom they might have otherwise worked are prevented from coming into contact with them and failing that, from being influenced thereby in any way. Let us see how all these things can be done with regard to both these kinds of 'Stimuli' separately.

### (1) The 'Internal Stimuli.'

Taking the 'Internal Stimuli' first, we may note that since they are provided by the 'Fighting Urges' themselves, they would automatically cease to exist if all kinds of 'Fighting Urges' can be wholly eradicated from the human constitution or are at least prevented from manifesting themselves or functioning, in accordance with the proposals that we have made in that connection in the last chapter. If, however, that cannot be done, these 'Fighting Urges' would exist and do their work. They may then either remain below or rise above the particular '*minimum potency*' point referred to above, which by the way would differ from one individual to another. If they remain below it, the matter would

turn and the whole trouble would subside after a while in some way. If they rise above that point, the 'Fighting Urge' would *ipso facto* become converted into an 'Incitement' which would automatically throw the individual off his balance. It is the duty of that individual in that case to reflect for the last time on all the consequences of his action before he actually breaks out into open violence *and in order to make him desist from that course, therefore, the extent of those consequences should be made as great as possible without punishing any other innocent person along with him.* This can only be done by making him pay for the crime with his very life. The State should, therefore, lay down an express rule that whosoever first takes to violence during the course of any dispute on a 'Communal' or a 'Personal' Issue shall be awarded capital punishment without the right of praying for mercy under any circumstances whatsoever. Side by side with this, it should be made the *legal duty* of those individuals and policemen also who may be present on or near the spot where any 'Communal' or 'Personal' Issue arises, to at first try to settle the 'Issue' in some peaceful way and failing that, to at once arrest the main parties and take them to the nearest Police-

station before the situation gets worse. If they fail in this duty, the citizens and the policemen concerned should be punished with rigorous imprisonment extending over a very long period of time.

## (2) The 'External Stimuli.'

Passing on next to the 'External Stimuli,' we may lay down the following rules with regard to each one of them, as we have enumerated them in a previous chapter, under separate sub-headings below.

### (a) 'The First Blow.'

The first kind of 'External Stimulus' which acts as an 'Incitement' is provided by the 'first blow' given by an individual really or apparently belonging to one's own or to the opposite community which 'excites' one's 'Fighting Urges' to their 'minimum potency' point and thus actually sets them into motion. We have already suggested in the previous section that the individual who first breaks out into open violence or, in other words, gives the 'first blow' should be awarded capital punishment. There is no reason, however, why others should follow suit and begin

to indiscriminately assault the members of the other community like so many 'robots' as soon as that 'first blow' has been given. They should exercise self-control and thus nullify the effect of such 'Incitements' on all occasions. If, however, they cannot do so and allow their own selves also to be converted into 'Riotors', they should be prepared to suffer all the consequences of their actions and on their guilt being proved, should also be given capital punishment.

**(b) The Speech, Advice, Temptation or Bribe given or offered by one's own or the other Community's Members, Leaders or Organizations.**

The second kind of 'External Stimulus' which acts as an 'Incitement' is provided by the speech, advice, temptation or bribe made, given or offered by some member, leader or organization of either of the two communities with a view to 'incite' their members to break out into open violence in order to subserve some of their own 'communal' or 'personal' ends in any way. It is the duty of the 'Criminal Investigation Department' and of the Police, therefore, to keep an eye on all influential members, leaders and organizations of both communities, specially when some 'Commu-

nal' or 'Personal' Issue has arisen or some religious festivals or processions of either or both communities are about to take place or to be taken out. If their activities become at all suspicious, the executive authorities should put a restraint thereupon and if they still manage to carry out their designs in some way, they or their representatives should be prosecuted and if found guilty, should be awarded the maximum punishment of the law, for the responsible position which they hold in public life makes their actions all the more reprehensible and their machinations all the more dangerous from the point of view of society as a whole.

**(c) The Machinations of Interested Third Parties.**

The third kind of 'External Stimulus' is provided by the machinations of interested third parties who 'incite' one or both the communities or their members to violence by speech, advice or some kind of temptation or bribe. Where this third party is some private individual or group, it is the duty of the State to at once get him or its members arrested as soon as his or its machinations are found out and punish him or them severely. Where that third party, on

other hand, is some government official, on his machinations, being found out, he should be at once suspended and tried and if his guilt is proved, he should be given such an exemplary punishment that no other public servant may ever again even think of disgracing himself and abusing his position in that way !

(d) 'Mischief'.

The fourth kind of 'External' Stimulus that we have to take note of is that of 'Mischief' on the part of some members of either community or some interested third party or a mere mischief-monger belonging to any community or party whatsoever. This 'Stimulus' generally presents itself when during the course of discussions on some 'Communal' or 'Personal' Issue, a crowd collects on a spot or when any festival, meeting or procession of either community is taking place or is being held or taken out and some brick or stone is thrown thereupon by some unknown person which 'incites' those who are so attacked against the other community and makes them burst out into violence against the members of the latter by way of retaliation. These simpletons do not stop to enquire as to

who threw the brick or the stone or whether, even if he were a member of the other community, it was at all proper that they should go about indiscriminately attacking the members of the other community for the fault of an irresponsible mischief-monger, whoever he may be! If only these people exercise a little self-control at the crucial moment or their leaders hold them in restraint for a little while and instead of pouncing upon the members of the other community like wild beasts, they set about searching for the mischief-monger, they would very soon be able to find him out and they can then hand him over to the authorities for prosecution. *The punishment for all mischief-mongers who act in that way should be a capital one.* But that situation itself ought very rarely to arise. If sufficient precautions are taken beforehand, the chances of any such thing happening would be very much reduced. It is the duty of the police, therefore, to at once disperse a crowd that might have formed during the course of discussions on any 'Communal' or 'Personal' Issue and keep a strict watch round about those places where any kinds of festivities, meetings or processions of any community are about to be or are actually being held or ta

out and if it finds any mischief-mongers or lunatics there, it should politely take them away or, if necessary, even forcibly remove them therefrom. It is the duty of the organisers of these festivities, meetings and processions also to look to this and if they find any such mischief-monger or lunatic present thereat or accompanying them, they should immediately ask the chief Police Officer present on the spot to remove them therefrom, which the latter should always do *if he is satisfied that the request is a bona fide one.*

(e) 'False and Alarming Rumours.'

'False and Alarming Rumours' are an extremely dangerous type of 'External Stimuli' which act as 'Incitements' for they may lead the whole population of a town or all the members of a meeting or a procession to at once burst out into any sort of frenzy or passion whatsoever on being presented with a piece of news which, though false, they innocently believe to be true and on hearing which they *cannot but* get out of control. It is the duty of the leaders of all communities and the Presidents of the particular meetings and processions during the course of which these 'Rumours' arise as well as of the

governmental authorities to at once contradict them as soon as possible and place the true facts before the public through bulletins, proclamations or loud-speakers, as may be suitable under the circumstances. It is the duty of the State also to immediately arrest and severely punish those who are responsible for these 'Rumours,' *giving them capital punishment in case their activities actually result in a 'Riot.'*

**(f) Things that create Panic in the Minds or Excite the Passions of Individuals and Mobs.**

The last 'External Stimulus' which requires to be taken note of is provided by anything done by a member of either community, a third party or some animal, which creates 'panic' in the minds or 'excites' the 'passions' of some individuals or a mob belonging to either of the two or both the communities. In order to control this 'Stimulus', only some very elementary precautions have to be taken. In the first place, whenever any festivities, meetings or processions of either of the two or both communities take place or are taken out, a volunteer or a policeman must be posted at every *inlet* leading into those places where these festivities or meetings are being held or

thoroughfares through which those processions are to pass and they should be authorised and enjoined to prevent the entry thereinto of any lunatic, any person who is likely to do something which would excite the passions of the mob or any stray horse, cow, bull or any other animal. And in the second place, whenever any procession of any community is going to be taken out, the police authorities should make sure that no horse belonging to the mounted police contingent which is sent out to accompany it and no horse, elephant, bullock or any other animal which is in any way to form a part of the procession itself is such as is likely to get excited and get beyond control at the very sight of a crowd or on hearing the sound of drums or band music. If both these precautions are taken, the very root cause of most 'panics' and 'excitements' that at present arise during the course of the festivities, meetings and processions of either community would be cut out at its very source. There might be and perhaps would be some cases, however, where inspite of all these precautions or because of a lack of them, some lunatic, unwanted person or stray animal would get entry into these festivities, meetings and processions

and if any 'panic' or 'excitement' then arises because of them, the leaders or the organisers thereof as well as the authorities should at once inform the people of the real facts and ask them to remain calm and quiet till they are able to control the whole situation which they should at once try to do in whatever way they can.

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## Chapter XI. How to Provide Against the 'Lack of Controlling Forces'?

In this chapter, we would shew how the fourth and last factor that must exist before the 'Hindu-Muslim Riots' can take place, namely, the 'Lack of Controlling Forces,' can and should be provided against. These 'Controlling Forces,' as we have already pointed out in a previous chapter, are those factors which, if present, would have controlled or whose duty or function it was to control these 'Riots.' There are three such factors, namely, first, the force of 'Personal Self-Control'; secondly, the force of 'Control by the Leaders and the various Organizations of the two Communities'; and thirdly, the force of 'Control by the Government'. We would deal with each one of these factors separately below.

### (1) The Lack of 'Personal Self-Control.'

Taking first the factor of 'Personal Self-Control,' we may note that there are only three ways in which its presence in every individual can be practically ensured, namely, first, proper

education; secondly, the cultivation of a collective civic sense and thirdly, the elevation of moral character. It is the duty of all parents, teachers and the State, therefore, to see that their children, pupils and citizens respectively are fully and properly trained in all these ways and are specially instructed not to lose their balance of mind in the face of any 'Incitement' that may be offered thereto during the pendency of any 'Communal' or 'Personal' Issue but to always remain cool and try to settle these 'Issues' in a peaceful and amicable way.

**(2) The Lack of 'Control by the Leaders and the various Organizations of the two Communities.'**

Taking next the force of 'Control by the Leaders and the various Organizations of the two Communities', we may note that it would be enough to remind both of them here that they have a *necessary*, *important* and *urgent* duty to discharge in connection with all 'Communal' and 'Personal' Issues that may ever arise anywhere within the limits of their various spheres of influence. As soon, therefore, as they come to know of any such 'Issues' having arisen therein, they or their authorities should at once

spot and exert all their influence in getting them settled amicably and keeping the people under restraint. In order to help them in the discharge of this duty, the State would do well to make it *obligatory* for the Police and the Civil authorities of every place to at once inform all the real leaders and the authorities of all the local organizations of both communities that a particular 'Communal' or 'Personal' Issue has arisen, as soon as they themselves come to know of it, and request them to at once present themselves on the spot and try to ease the situation as best they can, at the same time sending a fully-armed policeman to each one of them to escort them wherever they may want to go till the whole trouble has come to an end. And in order that their services may get due recognition at the hands of the public and also that those 'Leaders' and those authorities of organizations who, even when so informed or requested, do not care to move out or do anything, may be fully exposed, the Government should make a detailed mention in whatever statement or 'communiqué' it might issue at the end of the whole trouble on the subject as to what 'Leaders' and authorities of 'Organizations' it had approached and what each

one of them actually did throughout the whole course of the trouble in various ways.

(3) The Lack of 'Control by the Government.'

Finally, with regard to the force of 'Control by the Government', we may note that, as we have already pointed out, *if this control is available at the proper time and in a sufficient degree and is at the same time exercised in the right way, it can almost always prevent all 'Riots' from taking place, whatever their exact cause or origin may be.* The Government would, therefore, do well to take note of this and make it the 'Dictum' of all its policies and attitudes on the subject and also ask all its Police and civil authorities to always remember this. If they all cooperate and exert themselves to their utmost in handling all situations that may ever arise in this connection with sufficient promptness and tact, they would be able to prevent most of these 'Riots' from taking place at all. As soon as they first hear of any 'Communal' or 'Personal' Issue having arisen anywhere within the limits of their jurisdictions, they should at once proceed to the spot and remain there till the whole trouble has finally subsided. Similarly, when any ~~festivities~~,

meetings, or processions of either community or both of them are going to take place or to be taken out, they ought to be present thereat from the beginning to the end thereof as far as possible. They should not, however, make these occasions a means of their own enjoyments as they sometimes do at present when instead of supervising the festivities and the processions, they simply go to the houses of a few 'Raises' or rich men in the neighbourhood or on the routes thereof and enjoy their hospitality ! Another thing that they would do well to be careful about on all such occasions is that whatever 'instructions' they have to issue in connection with these festivities, meetings or processions should always be given or communicated in writing to the chief organiser or President thereof and not to any individual whatsoever who may be present or may be unauthorisedly posing as the most important figure of the whole show ! Not only this, it is actually their duty to at once arrest these unauthorised persons and take them away either to the lock-up or to some other place as soon as they are asked to do so by the chief organiser or the President referred to above, on a charge of having become a nuisance thereto or obstructing

them in the peaceful management or progress of those festivities, meetings or processions. Their main duty, however, before and on all such occasions is to so arrange things that no 'Communal' or 'Personal' Issue arises and if any such 'Issue' does arise, to then see that no 'Incitement' is offered to the parties from any quarter and under any circumstances whatsoever. If, inspite of their best efforts, an 'Incitement' has actually been offered and a 'Riot' consequently starts, they should at once take the necessary steps to put an end thereto as soon as possible in accordance with all those suggestions which we will make in that connection in the next chapter. Their success or failure would then depend on the prompt or otherwise with which they are able to nip the whole trouble in the bud. If they acquit themselves honourably and successfully through all the various stages of the whole incident, they should get the necessary recognition and appreciation from the higher authorities. But if, on the other hand, they are found to have been careless or slack in the discharge of their duties or to have actually encouraged, abetted or failed to take the necessary steps to suppress the 'Riot', they should be awarded

capital punishment, for they are then guilty of a crime which might have exposed or has actually exposed the whole populace of a town or area to all the horrors of a general massacre and opened out for it the gates of hell-fire and the worst brutalities that could even be imagined of !

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## Chapter XII. How to Stop the Riots Once They Have Actually Started ?

We have now finished our study of the 'Cures' of all those factors that are directly or indirectly responsible for the 'Hindu-Muslim Riots.' If all our suggestions that we have advance in the previous chapters in connection therewith are actually put into practice, it may be hoped that no such 'Riots' would ever take place at all. But if through negligence, carelessness or indifference, even a few of these suggestions are not put into practice, it is very probable that, given all the necessary factors, a 'Riot' would follow. We must, therefore, now proceed to consider some of the problems that would then arise. This we would do in this and the next two chapters. In this chapter, we would consider the first and evidently the most important of these problems, namely, as to how to bring the 'Riot' itself to an end as soon after it has started as possible.

Now the very first thing that in our view should be done as soon as a 'Riot' starts is that a proclamation should at once be issued by the local authorities intimating that a 'Hindu-Muslim Riot' has started and asking all members of the two communities to immediately 'Take Cover' in the nearest building inhabited by a member of their own community and if they are already in any such place, not to get out thereof under any circumstances whatsoever for a period of time which the civil authorities may specify, keeping in view, first, the intensity of the 'Passions' which might have been excited as well as the area over which this excitement prevails and the period of time which they would ordinarily take to cool down in different cases; and secondly, the inconveniences with regard to privacy, meals and beddings to which both the 'guests' and the 'hosts' in so many cases might be put, specially if the 'Riot' has started in the latter part of the day. As soon as this proclamation is issued, the whole 'Police' and the 'Military' force available in the locality or in the vicinity thereof as well as the newly-created 'A. R. P.' workers and the 'Civic Guards,'—who by the way should be retained as a permanent institution for all kinds of civil

emergencies even when the 'War' has terminated,—should be at once spread out in every nook and corner of the town with orders to immediately arrest all those persons who might still be found outside any building, committing any crime or assaulting others and in case of resistance, to shoot them down on the spot. If the members of the two communities happen to be shut up in the same building and start fighting, the whole building should be at once surrounded and all its inmates should be arrested. If the members of either of the two or both communities were collected at one place when the 'Riot' started because they were carrying on some of their religious or social ceremonies or festivities, holding a meeting or taking out a procession and refuse to disperse, those of their 'Leaders' who might be present on the spot should be requested to instruct them to do so. If these leaders refuse to cooperate, they should be immediately arrested and the crowd should then be dispersed by any of the existing or newly-invented 'Non-violent' methods of so doing. If, however, all such methods fail, then the whole crowd should also be immediately put under arrest and after being gradually pacified, finally allowed to peacefully disperse.

While all this is being done, batches of strong Police-guards should be posted on all roads, streets and lanes leading into the area where the 'Riot' has taken place or at the outskirts thereof on all sides, with orders not to allow anybody to enter that area, whether coming there by rail, buses, vehicles or by foot, under any circumstances whatsoever, during the pendency of the 'Take Cover' order. A section of the Police force should at the same time be despatched to arrest all those persons who had been responsible for bringing about the 'Riot' or who had subsequently taken part in it as well as all the proclaimed offenders, professional scoundrels and other suspects of both communities residing in the area and keep them in the lock-up till the former have been tried and the latter can be safely released.

After the 'Take Cover' order period has expired, it should be followed by a 'Trial Period' of, say, twenty-four hours. During this period, all those persons within the disturbed area who want to go anywhere either within or without it should be allowed to do so *at their own risk*. Similarly, out of those persons who had been

detained on the outskirts of that area, those of them that want to get in may also be allowed to do so *at their own risk*, except when it appears that they want to go there either to take part in the 'Riot' itself, encourage or help the 'Riotors' in any way, commit loot or any other crime or are such that they are almost certain to be attacked by the members of the other community for any reason. Women and children should not, moreover, be allowed to either go anywhere within that area or to enter it from outside unless they are accompanied by some grown-up male. If, however, they think it absolutely necessary for them to do so, they should, if residing within that area, send a message to that effect on the phone or through a messenger to the nearest Police Station and, if stopped at the barrier on the outskirts of the town, inform the Police-guards on duty thereat about it. As soon as the Police authorities at either place receive any such message, they should make arrangements to send a fully-armed Policeman or soldier to safely convey them to their destination and as soon as this is done, they should be allowed to go.

If no untoward incidents

this 'Trial Period,' the 'All Clear' order should be issued which would mean that normal conditions had again come to prevail and that everybody was now free to go anywhere he liked and resume his usual routine of work. If, on the other hand, anything untoward happens during this 'Period' or even after the 'All Clear' order had been issued, a second 'Take Cover' order of double duration than the first should at once be imposed on the members of both the communities and after its expiry, a second 'Trial Period' of full forty-eight hours—double that of the first such period,—should be made to follow. And this process should be continued with a doubling of the durations of both these 'Periods' each time till the whole trouble has finally come to an end.

All these things, it may be observed, have to be done by the Government or, in other words, by the local police and the civil authorities acting on its behalf. It is possible, however, that the Government may partly or wholly refuse to accept the above proposals or its local representatives may, due to some evil design, carelessness, inefficiency or lack of initiative, refrain from carrying them

out in part or as a whole. It is necessary, therefore, that some other agency belonging to the people themselves should be immediately evolved which may carry out the rest or the whole of that programme in either case. We shall describe below how that agency should be evolved, how it should be constituted and how it should do its work.

We think that the 'Indian National Congress,' the 'Hindu Mahasabha' and the 'Muslim League' should immediately pass Resolutions authorising and calling upon the Presidents of all their branches throughout India to sink all their other political differences and come together and form themselves into what we may refer to as the 'Hindu-Muslim Riots Control Boards.' These 'Boards' should then be formed as soon as possible in every town or city separately. *If any of these three organizations refuses to co-operate, the others and if two of them refuse to do so, then only the surviving one should set up such 'Boards' consisting of their Presidents in the former and of the President and the Secretary of that organization in the latter case.* The expenses of these 'Boards' should be equally shared between the organizations which form the component

parts thereof or if only one of them sets them up, they should be wholly borne thereby. These 'Boards' should have separate offices of their own situated in the centre of all towns and should provide phone connections at their expense to these offices as well as to all their members at their residences, unless any of the latter already have them. 'Loud Speakers' should then be installed by these 'Boards' in all important parts and other quarters of the various towns—over and above what the Government might have done for its own use and differing from the latter in outward form or colour so that the people might know as to who is communicating therewith—and they should all be linked up with microphones which should be put up in the 'Board's Offices.' These microphones should always be kept under lock and key and the clerks of the 'Boards' should be made wholly responsible for them. And finally, these 'Boards' should have a batch of 'Volunteers,' to be known as the 'National Guards,' consisting of all those members of the two communities who are prepared to work honorarily in that capacity and give an undertaking on their honour that they would look after and protect the life, property

and other interests of the members of both the communities equally.

After these 'Boards' have thus been fully constituted and equiped, they should set about doing their work as follows.

As soon as a 'Hindu Muslim Riot' starts and the clerk of the 'Board' comes to know of it—and it is the duty of every citizen to see that he is informed thereof as soon as possible,—he should at once inform the authorities on the phone about it and then wait for five minutes. If during this period, the local authorities do not issue the 'Take Cover' order and spread out a sufficient number of their Police, Military, A. R. P. or Civic Guard forces to take charge of the whole town, he should himself request the members of both the communities on the microphone put up in his office, on behalf of the 'Board,' to 'Take Cover' as soon as possible, without specifying any time limit for it which would later on be fixed up by the members of the Board. He should at the same time instruct all the 'National Guards' of the town on the microphone to at once spread themselves out over the whole of

the disturbed area as well as post themselves on the outskirts of the town and in each case carry out the duties which the Police would have had to perform, if it had been present. He should next at once inform the members of the 'Board' on the phone about the whole incident in detail and state what he has already done. The members of the 'Board' should then get into telephonic communications with one another and if no mob is collected at any place, they should discuss as to how long the 'Take Cover' period should last and instruct the Board's clerk to proclaim it from the microphone accordingly. If, on the other hand, a mob is collected anywhere, they should all go there as a joint body and try to pacify it and ask it to disperse. So long as the mob does not disperse, they should also remain on the spot and the 'Take Cover' period should continue. After the mob disperses, these members should discuss if they should immediately terminate the 'Take Cover' notice and begin the 'Trial Period' or wait for some time more. After they have arrived at their decision, they should communicate it to the Board's clerk who should instruct the public on the microphone accordingly. When the

'Trial Period' begins, all those duties which would have been performed by the Police, if it had been present, should be performed by the 'National Guards' in exact detail as we have described them above. If no incidents occur during this 'Period,' the 'All-clear' notice should be given when normal business should begin; otherwise, the whole course of these 'Periods' should be repeated over and over again, with a doubling of the durations of both of them each time, till the whole trouble has finally come to an end.

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## Chapter XIII. How to Reduce the Amount of Harm or Injury Caused by Riots to a Minimum?

The second problem that would arise after a 'Riot' has actually started is as to how the amount of harm or injury that might be caused thereby can be reduced to a minimum. Let us see how that goal can best be attained.

The first thing that we have to point out in this connection is that evidently the most important way in which the amount of this harm or injury can be reduced to a minimum is by bringing the 'Riot' itself to an end as soon after it has started as possible, for the shorter its duration, the less the period of time for which its evil effects can continue. We have already pointed out in the previous chapter how the above goal can best be attained and we hope that all parties would work for its realisation to as great an extent as possible from this point of view also.

It is possible, however, that due to apathy, carelessness or differences of opinion, the

Government may fail or refuse to accept our proposals or the local officials may refrain from acting thereupon and the various organizations of the two communities may not also be able to do anything or much. In all these cases, the 'Riot' would continue till the 'Fighting Urges' of *all* the members of the two communities have spent out their *maximum potent force* or the local officials or the leaders and the various organizations of the people themselves can control it with their present methods, if at all. And even if all our suggestions are carried out, there may be some individuals the *maximum potent force* of whose 'Fighting Urges' may be so intense that they might continue the 'Riot' or go out to indulge in it even at the risk of being arrested or shot down. In that case also, the 'Riotors' would be able to do a lot of harm or injury to their opponents till either they have actually been arrested or shot or their 'Fighting Urges' have spent out their *maximum potent force*. The problem, therefore, still remains as to how the activities of these 'Riotors' can be so moulded or controlled that the amount of evil which they cause may be reduced as much as possible. .

We have three suggestions to advance in that

connection which would respectively aim at bringing about what we may refer to as the 'Localization,' the 'Particularization' and the 'Humanization' of all 'Riots'. We would present these suggestions and explain what we mean by these three terms under separate headings below.

. A. The 'Localization' of 'Riots.'

Taking first the 'Localization' of 'Riots', we may state that when we use that term we mean that when a 'Communal' or a 'Personal' Issue arises at a particular spot, instead of the members of either of the two or both communities going out to indiscriminately assault, kill or shoot the members of the other community wherever they find them in all parts of the town or locality, *they confine the struggle to that spot alone.* Whenever, therefore, a 'Riot' has thus been 'Localised,' all those individuals who want to 'die' or otherwise 'sacrifice' themselves for their 'Religion,' 'Ideology' or 'Rights' would flock together at that spot and fight out their 'battles' thereat, without throwing the whole of that town or locality into a state of turmoil. The rest of that town or locality can, therefore, in that case peacefully carry on its business as before. *We advise the 'Riotors' of*

both communities, therefore, to always take to 'Localised Rioting' whenever they feel they must take part in a 'Riot' at all. We further advise the leaders and the various organizations of the two communities as well as the Government to educate public opinion in favour of this reform and the last one to also declare that those who confine themselves to 'Localised Rioting' would in all cases be treated *slightly* better and given a *slightly* less punishment than those who try to spread the 'Riot' to a wider area. If all the above parties fully cooperate, it may be hoped that 'Localised Rioting' would soon replace 'Indiscriminate Rioting' everywhere so long as these 'Riots' do take place at all.

#### B. The 'Particularization' of 'Riots.'

Passing on next to the 'Particularization' of 'Riots,' we may note that when we use that term we mean that if a 'Riot' does break out anywhere at all, instead of the members of either of the two or both communities going out to attack any and every member of the other community or their houses or property, *they confine their degradations to a few particular individuals and their belongings only!*

Now if our proposal with regard to the 'Localization' of 'Riots' does not appeal to the 'Riotors' or they cannot act upon it for any reason, we suggest it to them to adopt this second alternative of the 'Particularization' of 'Riots,' *if they must take part in these 'Riots' at all.*

'Indiscriminate Rioting,' as we have already pointed out in a previous chapter, forces every individual of both communities to sooner or later become a 'Communalist,' for he then feels that if a 'Communal Riot' does break out anywhere in his vicinity, however catholic, nationalistic or anti-communal he may be, *even he would be most surely attacked.* He cannot then but think in terms of his own community on whose strength and prowess his and his family's life and honour would definitely come to depend in case of that contingency. We advise the 'Riotors' of both communities, therefore, to attack only those persons or the authorities, members or volunteers of those organizations of the other community who *actually want to fight with them or have declared war on their community* and leave everybody else quite unmolested. By adopting this course, they would not only prevent people

from unnecessarily becoming 'communalists' but would at the same time be able to eliminate their community's worst enemies within the ranks of the other community without the whole force of that community being put up against them for the latter's protection. Side by side with this, the amount of harm or injury which these 'Riots' cause would also be confined to a much narrower circle than would otherwise have been the case,—this circle also consisting of those individuals who are either immediately or remotely responsible *to some extent at least* for bringing these 'Riots' into being or continuing them further! We hope, therefore, that the 'Riotors' of both communities would very carefully consider our suggestion and act upon it *if they must take part in a 'Riot' at all!* We further hope that the leaders and the various organizations of the two communities as well as the Government would do whatever they can to popularize this view and the last one would further help by declaring that those who confine themselves to 'Particularized Rioting' would be treated *slightly* better and given a *slightly* less punishment than those who indulge in 'Indiscriminate Rioting,' as the former obviously do much less harm to society as a whole than is done by the latter.

## C. The 'Humanization' of 'Riots.'

Finally, taking the 'Humanization' of 'Riots,' we may note that when we use that term we mean that if a 'Riot' does take place at all and if it can neither be 'Localised' nor 'Particularized,' *the 'Riotors' avoid or are prevented from doing all those things that are inhuman or such that only cowards or specially depraved people can really be guilty of.* Such things are, for instance, the assaulting, dishonouring or murdering of women, children, old, sick or disabled persons or those individuals who are unarmed or unfit to defend themselves in any way. To touch and molest any of these people in any way is to sink below the level of the grossest savagery. We hope, therefore, that the 'Riotors' of both communities, if they cannot see their way to either 'Localize' or 'Particularize' a 'Riot,' would at least try to 'Humanize' it. In case, however, any of the above-mentioned persons themselves take the offensive against them in any way, they should use the *minimum necessary* force for their own self-defence and when that object is achieved, they should leave them at that,—perhaps, with an advice not to risk their life and honour by becoming a party

to these 'Riots' in future! And as in the two previous cases, we again invite the cooperation of the leaders and the various organizations of the two communities as well as of the Government in educating public opinion in favour of this reform and further appeal to the last one to also declare that it would always treat a *little less severely* and give a *slightly less* punishment to those who indulge in 'Humanised Rioting' as compared to those that are guilty of 'Indiscriminate Rioting.'

These are then all the ways in which we think the amount of harm or injury done by 'Riots' can be reduced to a 'minimum' and we hope that if all our suggestions are fully carried out, they would always lead to some fruitful result.

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## **Chapter XIV. How to Control the After-effects of Riots so as to Prevent their Leading to New Riots?**

The third and last problem that would arise after a 'Riot' has actually started is as to how its after-effects should be controlled so that they may not lead to any new 'Riots' in their own turn. Let us see how this goal can best be attained.

We may begin by classifying all the 'after-effects' of 'Riots' into three broad categories, namely, first, those that are the outcome of the treatment accorded by the State to the 'Riotors'; secondly, those that result from the way in which the sufferers in the 'Riots' react towards those persons of the other community that had caused them any injury; and finally, those that are caused by the way in which the members of the two communities in general behave towards one another. We would deal with each one of these three categories of 'after-effects' of 'Riots' and study how they should be 'controlled' under separate headings below.

A. The Treatment Accorded by the State to the 'Riotors.'

Taking first those 'after-effects' of 'Riots' that are the outcome of the treatment accorded by the State to the 'Riotors', we may note that the chances of their leading to new 'Riots' depend upon whether this treatment is lenient or otherwise and vary in direct order to the extent of that leniency, if any. It is the duty of the State, therefore, to see that all those who had encouraged, abetted or taken any part in these 'Riots' are duly punished, though, in accordance with our suggestions as advanced in the previous chapter, it should always give a *slightly better* treatment and a *slightly less* punishment to those of them that had tried to 'Localise', 'Particularize' or 'Humanise' the 'Riots' as compared to those that had indulged in 'Indiscriminate Rioting'. The present practice of letting off the 'Riotors' of both communities on a request being made for their release by the local leaders and other influential persons under the plea that this would 'ease the tension' and allow 'normal conditions' to return quickly is a direct encouragement to fresh 'Riots', for everybody then feels that he can freely indulge in a 'Riot' as there is very little likeli-

hood of his being punished at all ! From a long range point of view, therefore, this is a most objectionable practice and must consequently be forthwith stopped. Once an individual gets out to upset the whole arrangement of civilised existence and murder his fellowmen, his rightful place is always the gallows or a perpetual cell ! Make a slight change in this and off he goes bouncing on the throats of his brothern whenever he feels the least impulse to do so at all !

**B. The Way in which the Sufferers in the Riots React towards those that had caused them any Injury.**

Taking next those 'after-effects' of 'Riots' that result from the way in which the sufferers therein react towards those persons of the other community that had caused them any injury, we may note that the chances of their leading to new 'Riots' in their own turn depend upon whether these sufferers try to take private revenge upon their opponents or make an effort to get them punished or procure compensation from them for their injuries through the Governmental authorities or the law-courts and vary in direct

order to the number of private revenges. It is the duty of all sufferers in the 'Riots,' therefore, to always abstain from taking private revenges against their opponents. Wherever they can find out the culprits and hope to be able to offer sufficient evidence against them, they should always approach the proper civil authorities or the law-courts for redress. Private revenge, besides being a law of the jungle, somehow leaves a sting in the minds of those against whom it is directed, which is many times more acute than seeking redress through official or legal channels. The chances of its leading to fresh trouble are consequently equally great. All peace-loving citizens, therefore, should abjure it as far as possible and seek redress against those that had caused them injury through official or lawful channels only.

**C. The Way in which the Members of the two Communities in general Behave towards one another.**

Finally, passing on to those 'after-effects' of 'Riots' that are caused by the way in which the members of the two communities in general behave towards one another, we may note that

the chances of their leading to new 'Riots' in their own turn depend upon whether this treatment creates love or hatred between the two communities, makes them realise or forget that they are mutually dependent and brings them together or separates them from one another all the more, and vary in direct order to the extent of the latter in each case. It is the duty of all the members of the two communities, therefore, not to do anything which creates hatred between them or makes them forget that they are mutually dependent or separates them from one another all the more. One of those things that has this effect is 'boycott' by the members of both communities of all businessmen belonging to the other. Though the advocates of 'boycott' believe that by being boycotted, the other party would 'learn a lesson,' the whole thing is really based on a misconception for if all those individuals who had taken any part in bringing about, encouraging, abetting or developing the 'Riot' are picked out and handed over to the 'Police' and sufficient evidence is procured against them so that they may receive their due punishment, nobody else besides them requires to be 'taught a lesson' at all! A general social or trade boycott of one another by the

members of the two communities always leads to bitterness and hatred between them and should consequently be always avoided. It would be better if the Government even makes it illegal and severly punishes those who organise or take part in it. Similarly, other things that have the same effect such as 'jeering' at the other community's cowardice or defeat, deliberate preparations for again attacking the other community or the amassing of offensive weapons anywhere by the members of either of the two or both communities should be avoided and made a criminal offence. On the other hand, positive attempts should be made to create greater love and fellow feeling between the members of the two communities, make them feel their mutual dependence and bring them nearer to one another. In this connection, we may suggest that the residents of every quarter should raise *joint* funds for the 'Relief of Distress' and attend to and serve the injured of both communities equally, without making any distinctions whatsoever, instead of each community raising funds for the relief of and attending to the injuries of its own members alone. Another suggestion that we have to advance in this connection is that some promi-

uent citizen of the town as soon as a 'Riot' has been brought to an end, should draft out a declaration to the effect that the signatories thereto would never again take part in any 'Riot' under any circumstances whatsoever and get it signed by each and every member of both communities therein or call mass meetings of the members of both communities in every quarter of the town and ask every one of the individuals present to stand up and make a declaration on his honour before the whole audience to the effect that he would never again take part in any 'Communal Riot.' This would have a most salutary effect on the general *morale* of the people and most of the signatories to such a document or those who make the said declaration before such an assemblage would abide by their word of honour. Those who fail to do so would easily be picked out and exposed. In any case, the very process of procuring signatures to such a document or making declarations before such an assemblage would have a great educative and restraining effect on the members of both the communities and would put even the most unscrupulous person into a corner, for no man can ever say that he prefers to or would act to the contrary under any circumstances whatsoever !

## Chapter XV. The Conclusion.

We have now come to the end of the present work. We may, therefore, conclude it here with the hope that both the Government and its officials as well as the various national and communal leaders and organizations and the members of the two communities would very carefully consider all our suggestions and proposals and act upon at least those of them that appear thereto to be specially helpful. A lot of things have to be done under each separate count by all the above parties which they should always try to do when the necessity therefor arises if they would eradicate this most shameful and disgraceful malady from our body politic. The most important and urgent duty in this connection is, of course, that of the Government which by legislation, executive actions and judicial dispositions has to do something or the other in connection with almost every topic and problem. In order that it may be best able to discharge that duty, we suggest that it should at once set up a 'Hindu Muslim Riots Enquiry Board' which should examine in detail all our own proposals as well

as all other relevant literature on the subject that may be existing or forthcoming and then enact a separate 'Hindu Muslim Riots Act' on the basis of its recommendations, wherein express and unambiguous rules and laws should be laid down for the guidance of all public servants and in the light of which they should then be all always required to act. After the Government, the next important duty is evidently that of the national and the communal leaders and organizations of the two communities. We hope they would all play their rightful part in suppressing this evil in the light of our suggestions and their own longer experiences and superior judgments. In this connection, we have found it necessary to allot a special function to the 'Hindu Mahasabha' with regard to the founding of a number of new 'Samajes' which we hope its leaders would accept and work out into actual practice as quickly as possible. In all other respects, however, the work that has to be done by the above as well as by all other institutions and their leaders is exactly the same. Some of these works are of a 'supplementary' nature in relation to those of the Government; some would require to be performed when the

Governmant or its officials go by default in relation to their own functions and some others would have to be carried out in case the Government or any of its officials unconsciously or deliberately do things which instead of removing any evil are likely or bound to have the contrary effect. In the first set of cases, they should give their whole-hearted cooperation to the Government and its officials, irrespective of all other political considerations whatsoever. In the second set of cases, they should make themselves specially active, realising that the whole burden of responsibility then rests on their own shoulders alone. And in the last set of cases, they should immediately draw the attention of the local as well as the central Governmental authorities to the unsoundness of the course they are adopting or are about to adopt and do whatever they can to prevent them from persisting therein, if at all, by all lawful means. If they all always try to act in these ways, they would make a very great contribution to the solution of this problem. And finally, the masses of both communities, including the 'Riotors' themselves, have also quite a large number of duty perform if they would help in the

suppression of these 'Riots' or at least in raising them from their present stage of outright savagery to that of ordered barbarity and also in reducing the amount of injury caused thereby to a minimum. It is only when all the above parties jointly act in these ways that the 'spectre' of these 'Riots' would be finally laid low, the gloom of death which periodically descends over us all and casts its shadow on all sides of us at all times would vanish and a bright future full of perfect communal harmony, sweet relations and mutual regard would dawn over our dear Motherland, blazoning forth to all the world in letters of glittering gold the following couplets representing her present achievement and future hopes :—

When India first arose as a Vedic land,  
 It was the Charter of her Gods,  
 It was the burden of her strain,  
 Rule India ! India, Rule the World  
 Through Love, not through bruitish force ;  
 First unite all they sons in a common fold,  
 Then strive for the bigger goal,  
 The Ideal of '*Basudhaya Kutambha*'  
 'The Whole World, a Family !'

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The Plans Develop! Early Expectations !!

"The scheme and the scope of your work is admirable. I am certain it would prove of great

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### **The First Evaluation !**

"I believe there would be few Economists in India who would be possessing the same extensive and close knowledge of the economic literature on this aspect of the subject as does Mr. Agarwala".— Prof. S. K. Rudra in a document, dated, 29.6.31.

### **Some Time Afterwards !**

"How faithfully and greatly have you laboured ! May victory crown you with success."— Prof. S. K. Rudra in a letter to the Author, dated, the 12th. of November, 1932.

### **J. A. Hobson's Tribute !**

"It is an exceedingly able piece of work".— J A. Hobson, (the greatest Social Economist that the world has produced in modern times) in an official Report, (1933), on 'The Science of Economics', Part VII, 'The Theory of Normative Economics', in Typoscript.

### **H. S. Jevons' Recognition !**

"There is valuable matter in parts...which seems to me largely original".—Prof. H. S. Jevons M. A. in an official Report, (1934), on 'The Science of Economics', Part VII, 'The Theory of Normative Economics,' in Typoscript.

**Emotion !**

"You have been wonderful!"—Prof. S. K. Rudra in a letter to the Author, dated, 19.4.34.

**J. A. Hobson Remembers it Still !**

"The substance and form of your reasoning seemed to me to be excellent".—J A. Hobson in a letter to the Author, dated, 15.4.35.

**Praise !**

Some foreign Economists have "praised" your work "in glowing terms".—Dr. B. N. Kaul M. A., PH. D. (London), Formerly, Economic Expert to the "League of Nations", in a letter to the Author, dated, the 9th. of June, 1937.

**J. A. Hobson gets a Thrill! Magnificence !!****Admiration !!! Hopes !!! The Climax !!!**

"The magnificent scope and stretch of your arguments fills me with admiration.....I hope that when published, your work will receive the attention it deserves".—J. A. Hobson on reading a revised version of 'The Science of Economics', Part VII, 'The Theory of Normative Economics', in typoscript, in a letter to the Author, dated, 17.1.38.

**Sentiment !**

"I admire your perseverance and tenacity of purpose and hope that the gods have some beautiful things in store for you to be enjoyed by you in the near future and ever afterwards",—Mr. O. P. Gupta: B. Sc. (London), Lecturer in Economics.

Lucknow University, in a letter to the Author dated, the 2nd. of March, 1938.

**Appreciation !**

"You should be given a Doctorate in 'Patience'!"—Professor S. K. Rudra in a letter to the Author, dated, the 7th. of May, 1938.

**Acknowledgment !**

"A wide circulation" of Mr. Agarwala's books "will indeed help the cause of Political Economy".—"The Star of India", (Calcutta), dated, the 6th. of March, 1941, in its "Review" of "The Economic Philosophies of Adam Smith and Ricardo" and "The Economic Philosophies of Marshall, Pigou and J. A. Hobson", two small adaptations from "The Science of Economics," Part II.

**Approval !**

"They are a valuable contribution to the literature on the History of Economic Thought.....Both the books have been ably written".—"The Hindusthan Standard", (Calcutta), dated, 6.4.41, in its "Review" of the two adaptations from "The Science of Economics", Part II, referred to above.

**Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar pays a Compliment !**

"You have started a new line and your interpretations are worthwhile".—Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M. A., Dr. H. C. (Teheran), Professor of History of Economic Thought, Calcutta University, in a

letter to the Author, dated, 10.3.41, while expressing an "Opinion" on the two adaptations from "The Science of Economics", Part II, noted above.

**Prof. N. K. Majumdar Sends his Congratulations !**

"I am very much interested in the Contents of your forthcoming publication, 'The Science of Economics'. Very few Indians have so far studied Economic theories with creative interest. I eagerly look forward to your book and congratulate you on your adventure,..... You are sure to break new ground."—Prof. N. K. Majumdar M. A., Head of the Economics Department, Bethune College, Calcutta, in a letter to the Author, dated, 12.4.41.

**The News Spreads ! The Eager Waiting !!**

"I am eagerly awaiting your new publication for your new line of approach".—Prof. P. C. Ghosh M. A., Professor of Economic Theory, Calcutta university, in a letter to the Author, dated, (15.4.41).

**The Anxious Enquiries I**

"Kindly let me know whether..... 'The Science of Economics' has been published or not. If it has been published, please send me a copy."—K. P. Bhatnagar Esq. M. A, Principal, D. A. V. College, Cawnpore, in a letter to the Author, (5.9.41).

**The "Let go" Order !**

Mr. Ratish Mohan Agarwala "has approached the study" of Economic Science "in an entirely new manner and I feel confident that Economists, both

in this country and abroad, will peruse his work with absorbing interest."—Prof. S. K. Rudra, in a letter to the Publishers, dated, the 19th. of July, 1943, advising them to proceed with the publication of the work without any further delay !

### Thanksgiving, Gratitude and Final Send-Off !

"Well, so a long journey and an arduous one has, under God's Providence, come to an end—and I pray, a successful one. You have certainly given the work the best you had in you. I am confident it will not go without its due award.

I must extend to all your collaborators my mead of admiration and gratitude. They have encouraged and sustained you during a long period of time in your great scholastic effort. Your triumph will be theirs!" Prof. S. K. Rudra in a final message to the Author, dated, 20.5.43.

### 'The Science of Economics' GOES TO THE PRESS !

It is a Great Work!—

Great in Conception!

Great in Execution!!!

Great in Ideals!!!

Mr. Agarwala works Wonders with his Subject!!!  
Such a Work has Never Appeared Before!!!

THE PUBLISHERS.

